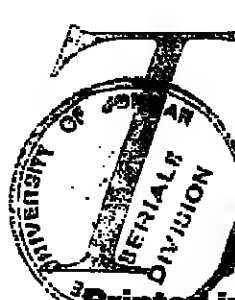


Guardian
The penalty
it keeps
rising

Thursday February 19 1998

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150

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G2 pages 12-13

Books

Why William Boyd
keeps his novels in
the fridge

G2 pages 7-11



Sick and dying in their hospital beds, the pitiful victims of sanctions and Saddam



Maggie O'Kane
reports
from Baghdad

THERE is a new weapon to the West's arsenal against the Iraqi dictator, Saddam Hussein. It is not as high-tech as the stealth bomber, it lacks the punch of the cruise missile and it can only be seen under a microscope. Travelling on the back of the female sand-fly, it strikes hardest in the spring.

On the second floor of al-Quadiya hospital on the outskirts of Baghdad, the children's ward has 100 show some of the collateral damage from this new microscopic weapon. Kena Azar is six months old and wrapped up so only his head is peeping from a pink-and-cream blanket. The parasite moved first into his booby marrow, to eat the cells that make his blood, and now it has taken over his liver and spleen. He is sleeping easily, for this parasite kills without pain.

The hospital, with its scruffy foam mattresses, battered metal beds and grubby sheets, does not have the pentosan medicine that Kena needs to help his six-month-old body fight.

"He has a 10 per cent chance of living. Before the sanctions add with the

medicine, it would have been 90 per cent," says the consultant, Dr Ali Sultan. In the 1960s, infectious diseases, known as the "black plague", was common in Iraq. Now it's back. A shortage of insecticides (banned under United Nations sanctions), and the collapse of the sanitation system with the absence of spare parts (because of the sanctions), have seen the sand-fly flourish again.

In the bed beside Kena lies Saleema Jura's second-born child, who is recovering from gastroenteritis, the most common infection in Iraqi children, caused by bad sanitation. Ms Jura, aged 30, calls the doctor over and begs him gently to help her eldest son, Ali, aged four, who is at home.

She shows a piece of paper with the name of an antiparasitic medicine, "Please help me, if there is anything I can give to my baby. He was walking and talking and everything, then he got this infection and now he can't move his legs or speak any more."

Dr Sultan explains that Ali has a viral infection of the brain that is untreatable in Iraq. "He needs physiotherapy, speech therapy, things we don't have any more."



A 19-month-old boy awaits treatment for malnutrition in a Baghdad hospital. Unicef says sanctions on Iraq have led to a six-fold increase in infant mortality. PHOTOGRAPH: ENRIC MARTI

As the doctor walks away Ms Jura turns suddenly and says: "You can tell all those people abroad that Ali really was talking and playing. Then all of a sudden he got this and I have nothing to give him. That is what your people have done to my child."

She is crying now and without warning picks up her child and leaves the ward, signing herself out to go home to her elder son.

Dr Sultan says: "Last week a woman came in with a very weak child suffering from diarrhoea and

vomiting. I told her she had to admit herself and the child, because the mothers have to stay since we don't have the staff."

"She told me she could not admit herself to the hospital. I will have to let him die, she said. I have four children at home to keep alive."

The economic sanctions weapon, used for the past seven years in the belief that it will compel President Saddam to comply with UN resolutions on disarmament, has led to a six-fold increase in infant mor-

tality, according to the UN Children's Fund (Unicef). A study last year by the Harvard medical group put the number of Iraqi children dead at half a million. In 10 out of 15 beds in this children's ward at al-Quadiya hospital — just one of Baghdad's 12 hospitals — at least half are here because of sanctions.

There is despair in this hospital: absolute despair. Dr Ali Rasim, aged 32, the paediatrician on the ward, says: "I have watched children dying here from renal

failure because we didn't have sodium bicarbonate — that's baking soda." In the premature delivery suite, the incubators are patched with sky-blue supermarket bags; there are no bulbs in the incubators' overhead lights and a mother is holding an oxygen tube, as thick as a pencil, under the nose of her 3lb baby who has a head the size of an apple.

"There are no oxygen masks left for the babies, and these are the thinnest tubes we have," says Dr Rasim, almost apologetically.

In the next ward a nine-month-old boy in a pink jumper is whimpering as his mother is forced to tie his arm to the metal bed frame with string. There is no other way to hold the intravenous drip.

Dr Juad Rashid, the hospital's consultant paediatrician, says: "In all my seven years of training, I only saw one case of typhoid — now I'm seeing them every week. We will have an epidemic by the summer."

Britain and the United States continue to be the strongest supporters of economic sanctions and all that comes with them — now, the rebirth of the sand-fly and her black plague.

"I am a soldier without a weapon," says Dr Rashid. "The rockets and missiles that are coming for our children are viruses and epidemics, and I have nothing to fight for them with. Why are you making war on our children?"

Annan mission to Iraq delays US-led strike

Ian Black in London and Mark Tran in New York

THE make-or-break mission to Baghdad by the United Nations secretary-general, Kofi Annan, has delayed US-led military action against Iraq by at least a week as Britain insisted yesterday that more diplomacy at the UN would be needed whatever the outcome

of this weekend's talks with Saddam Hussein. Countries across the world expressed support for Mr Annan, who said he had a "reasonable chance of success", and was encouraged by signals from Iraq "that they are prepared to engage constructively to find a solution".

Mr Annan is due to arrive in Baghdad tomorrow after stopping in Paris today. He expects to hold negotiations

on Saturday and Sunday before returning on Monday and reporting to the Security Council on Tuesday.

Yet Britain's determination to table a new resolution on the matter means more time will be spent talking — unless the US loses patience and decides to go it alone.

The Foreign Office said the proposed resolution would either "codify" President Saddam's compliance or "con-

demn Iraqi defiance... to show that any action taken has the support of an international consensus". Crucially, this makes no mention of military action — certainly opposed by Russia and China, and probably by France.

Either way, divisions between the US and Britain, and among France, Russia and China, make it unlikely that military moves could begin before the end of next week. The Muslim pilgrimage, or haj, season in Saudi Arabia could mean further delay.

Washington and London insisted yesterday that the Iraqi leader must comply with UN resolutions on disarmament, but there was a distinct shift away from threats as diplo-

macy was given what many believe is a last chance.

Tony Blair told the Commons Britain was "immovable" on compliance but said he was "delighted" with the secretary-general's mission.

The US was less enthusiastic. "We wish Annan was the US ambassador to the UN," Bill Richardson, told ABC. But he added: "We reserve the right to oppose a potential deal that would harm our national interests... If Iraq does not comply then we are going to be some very, very serious consequences."

Mr Annan will seek a face-saving end to the impasse over eight "preliminary" sites Iraq has declared off-limits to UN weapons inspectors.

Preparing for the worst, 31 more UN officials were yesterday ordered to leave Iraq as part of "precautionary" measures.

In Mr Annan's final meeting with the five permanent members of the UN Security Council on Tuesday, Sir John Western, Britain's ambassador to the UN, took the lead in hammering out a common position. Only at the last moment did the US agree.

The inspectors must certify Iraq has destroyed its weapons of mass destruction before the Security Council will lift sanctions. Iraq claims it has destroyed all banned weapons.



Cannabis 'safer than alcohol or cigarettes'

Tim Radford
Science Editor

UNITED Nations health chiefs suppressed a finding that cannabis is safer than either alcohol or tobacco, according to a report today.

A World Health Organisation report published in December was to have concluded that even if cannabis was consumed on the same scale as cigarettes and whisky, it would probably still be

safer than either, but the passage was scrapped at the last moment, says the magazine New Scientist.

The comparison with alcohol and tobacco, the suppressed passage said, was made "not to promote one drug over another but rather to minimise double standards that have operated in appraising the health effects of cannabis".

The disputed passage was leaked to New Scientist after it was withdrawn, reportedly in response to pressure from



Cannabis: UN report leaked

the US National Institute on Drug Abuse and the UN International Drug Control Programme. It says: "In developed societies cannabis

appears to play little role in injuries caused by violence, as does alcohol." It also says there is good evidence that alcohol can harm foetal development, while the evidence that cannabis can harm foetal development is "far from conclusive".

The WHO report does admit that, like heavy drinking, marijuana smoking can produce psychosis in susceptible people. It also says chronic cannabis smoking may contribute to cancers of the aerodigestive tract. But one lung

Inside

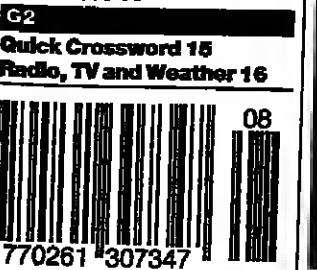
Britain
The Government's refusal to order a new public inquiry into the 1988 deaths of a soldier and a

World News
The Japanese government's refusal to give evidence in a Tokyo court as part of a three-year battle over compensation for war veterans

Analysis
The World Bank's new report on the state of the world's economy and what we should do about it

Sport
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Comment & Letters
9
Obituaries 10
G2
Quick Crossword 16
Radio, TV and Weather 16



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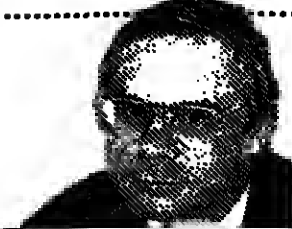
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2 NEWS

Sketch

Elton lookalike takes the stage



Simon Hoggart

PRIME Minister's Questions, and my eye was caught by a strange, yet almost recognisable, figure on the Tory benches.

With his lurid necktie, rubicund face, foppish claret, and his eye, I thought he looked like the winner of the South Midlands heat in the Elton John look-alike competition.

Who could it be? I tucked the nagging question to the back of my mind. Helel Jones (Lab, Warrington N) rose to ask whether Tony Blair, like her, welcomed the first transfer of money from the assisted places scheme, and didn't he agree that this was an excellent example of Labour's education policy at work?

Strangely enough, he did agree. Echoing Ms Jones, he thought it an "excellent example of the Government's education programme working for Britain".

Here was the first of many similarly supportive "questions", mostly from persons of the female persuasion.

Some new Labour women have been called *Stepford Wives*, after the zombies in the Ira Levin novel. But this is unfair to the *Stepford Wives*, who were at least beautiful and hard-working.

The less appealing of the New Labour women are more like the *Witches of Eastwick*, a cackling gang chasing after Jack Nicholson (played by T. Blair) in the desperate hope that he might notice them, and give them a good seeing-to, or at least a lookover with a view to promotion.

Then the Sir Elton person rose and started burbling about Lichfield. With a shock of recognition, I saw that the figure before me was none other than the former Michael Fabricant.

Since the election Sir Elton has abjured publicity seeking, contenting himself with a handful of daily appearances

on television, where he complains about the use of mobile phones in restaurants and the menace of imported foreign toilets.

Yesterday he inquired about new regulations on trade union recognition and how they would apply to small businesses. Small wonder that I have actually seen Sir Elton referred to as "a senior Conservative backbencher".

Words I never thought I would see in print.

Various Lib Dems stood up and suggested that the Prime Minister might try to honour his pre-election pledges, and spend some of that spare Treasury cash on hospital waiting lists, now growing at the rate of a million people per hour (or some similarly unimaginable figure).

"How long does it take," asked Paddy Ashdown, "for an early pledge to become a broken promise?"

Mr Blair grew tetchy. "You are trying to pretend that money grows on trees! In the real world, it doesn't." He sounds a little bit more like Margaret Thatcher's father every day.

Dennis Skinner echoed the Lib Dems. Now the public coffers were full to overflowing, and people walking past the Treasury office have £20 stuffed into their pockets by complete strangers. It might be a good time for a spot more public spending — or at least that was his gist.

The Tories have developed a new technique for dealing with Mr Skinner. They shout "Aye!" in a broad Northern accent. "Aye, aye," they rumbled as he stood up.

"The best news this week is that there is another £10 billion in receipts ("Aye")... it would be very 'elphul in 't Budget ("Aye")... and tek us further away from the discredited policies of the Tories..." (thunderous barrage of "Ayes" as he sat down).

It is repetitive, childish, and for some reason very funny. Mr Skinner, a man as conscious of his own dignity as any Bradford alderman, must hate it.

Later David Kidney introduced his Water Industry (Amendment) Bill. He spoke passionately.

Mr Kidney — his real name — is strongly in favour of water, and hoped that the House would pass it.

Review

She blinded me with science

Michael Billington

An Experiment With An Air Pump
Royal Exchange, Manchester

WHAT is the moral duty of the scientist? Does the quest for truth preclude private passion? Is the notion of progress a myth? Those are the cosmic questions posed by Shelagh Stephenson's new play. And even if they are only partly answered, it is cheering to find a writer, in only her second stage work, breaking out of the domestic confines.

The play's title derives from a famous picture by Joseph Wright of Derby, its structure from Stoppard's *Arcadia*. The setting is a 19th-century house in a Yorkshire town, in both 1789 and 1989. In the former period it is occupied by a crusading physicist and his extended family, in the latter by a genetic scientist and her redundant Eng Lit-teaching husband. As in Stoppard, past actions have future consequences.

What Stephenson shows in 1789 is a science driven by Utopian fervour. The head of the house, Joseph Penwick, a passionate republican who believes the task of the scientist is to change the world. Unfortunately he is so bound up in the intoxication of discovery that he neglects his wife, patronises his Scottish servant, and is totally unaware that the latter is being treated as a source of cold-blooded experiment by one of his acolytes.

Two hundred years on, the house itself is about to be sold and turned into a branch of the heritage industry. Its co-owner is also being tempted to

turn her genetic skill to commercial use. But the discovery of an antique human skeleton in some drains raises disturbing questions about science's continuing detachment from ethical concerns.

Clearly Stephenson is dealing with a whole raft of scientific, social, sexual and moral issues. One of the key points seems to be that whereas in the past science was partly driven by a spirit of radical inquiry, today it is all too easily appropriated by market forces. The problem is that her chosen dramatic format often short-circuits debate. For instance, the vast issue of genetic detection of foetal abnormality and its possible exploitation by health and insurance companies is reduced to a series of headline arguments.

But even if Stephenson's ideas lack room to breathe she is at least questioning in her outlook. She also writes good individual scenes, particularly those involving the highly likable Scottish servant, beautifully played by Pauline Lockhart, and her cruel maltreatment by Tom Mannion's egotistical scientist, who pretends to engage her heart when he is interested only in dissecting her body.

David Horovitch as the dominating physicist and Dearbhla Molloy as his cowed wife neatly show how roles are reversed in 1989, and Tom Smith offers an amusing cameo as a compulsively list-making Roger.

In the end, the play bites off far more than it can chew, but what impresses me is the sheer scale of Stephenson's theatrical appetite.

This review appeared in later editions yesterday.

Prince Charles's first black recruit faces media glare

THE first black recruit to the Prince of Wales's senior staff yesterday said she was resigned to being thrust into the media spotlight because of her colour, writes Luke Harding.

Colleen Harris, the prince's new deputy press secretary, said: "I accept that it's news to have a black member of the Prince of Wales's household."

Mrs Harris, aged 42, has

been recruited from the office of the Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott, where she is head of the media planning and co-ordination unit at the Department of Environment, Transport and the Regions.

Mrs Harris, who lives in London, said: "I was interviewed by the Prince and he was very considerate. He was concerned about the effect my family...

Enoch Powell's final message: remember not past years . . .

John Eardley

ENOCH Powell's body and spirit — and perhaps the more vexed side of the memories he leaves — were laid to rest yesterday at two services which overwhelmingly stressed his role as a Christian, parliamentarian and soldier.

Fittingly for a man larger than life, he had a double funeral in churches each crammed to the doors with 700 people. The first was at Westminster, where he sat as an MP for 37 years.

The second was at Warwick, not far from Birmingham, the storm centre of his "rivers of blood" speech on race in 1968. Few black faces were visible at either service.

"I didn't see a single one," said a Warwick clergyman. But the Midlands, to which Powell — who died on February 8 from Parkinson's Disease — returned by hearsie in a motorcade, had itself moved on in 30 years, more peacefully than he forecast. Warwick, where he was buried, now boasts a black Conservative peer, Lord Taylor. Birmingham has a black lord mayor, Cybil Spence.

His marathon obsequies included one or two flourishes of old glory in tribute to a politician who wanted so single-mindedly to be prime minister.

'He achieved influence on a scale which perhaps only history will come to recognise'

ter. The hearsie driver on his 50-mile last journey northwards from London was Sydney Clarke, who took Diana, Princess of Wales, to her Althorp grave last September.

One bouquet outside St Margaret's church, Westminster, said, "You were right. We are now going to the dogs. 90 per cent of people I know say you should have been PM."

And his coffin — after lying overnight in St Faith's chapel of prayer at Westminster Abbey — was led into church by the full splendour of a procession with high-held cross, mace, vergers' rod and candles.

At St Mary's, Warwick, he was played out of church for burial to the strains of Elgar's Imperial March.

But the rituals he had chosen for himself three years ago turned out to be the effacing, basic ceremonies framed to take a sinful soul to burial and final judgment.

His night in St Faith's, granted in thanks for his 10 years as a churchwarden, was far from a "lying in state" as some Anglican bishops had feared. The 12th century chapel is a 25ft wide hermit's cubicle of bare stone near Poet's Corner.

Lead, Kindly Light — one of the hymns he chose for St Margaret's — confessed in



Enoch Powell's coffin leaving St Margaret's church, Westminster, after his first funeral yesterday. PHOTOGRAPH BY MARTIN ARCELES

supplication I loved the garish day and spite of fears, / Pride ruled my will, remember not past years.

The Birmingham speech and its aftermath figured only briefly in an address by Powell's friend and former political disciple, John Biffen, who stressed the bigger influence of his views on the economy and Europe.

Speaking to a congregation that included John Major, Denis Thatcher, Lord Parkinson, the Ulster Unionist

leader David Trimble, Michael Portillo and Tony Benn, Mr Biffen said the Labour veteran Denis Healey had recently called Powell a nationalist.

"That is true," said Mr Biffen, "but it was not an emotion of nostalgia or romanticism and certainly did not bear the stamp of racial superiority or xenophobia."

That was the background to his Birmingham speech which led to his dismissal [in 1968] from the shadow cabinet.

net. Powell believed that the prospective size and concentration of New Commonwealth immigration would lead to unacceptable tensions and violence.

"It had a profound national impact and it transformed the public perception of him."

"He was already an established national figure when, for him, the supreme issue

arose of Britain and Europe."

Mr Biffen said Powell's "prophetic and political sacrifice" lived on to illuminate debate on a single currency.

"It will be the testimony of a great parliamentarian. He did not achieve power, but more important he achieved influence on a scale which perhaps only history will come to recognise."

John Mulholland
Ireland Correspondent

GEORGE Mitchell, chairman of the multi-party talks on Northern Ireland's future, last night warned of an increase in terrorist violence after the negotiations broke up in disarray. He called for the discussions to move into secret session, away from the media.

As Mr Mitchell spoke, there were reports of a Catholic man's body being found near Lurgan, Co. Armagh. It was thought he had been abducted and shot through the head. Police said the area had been sealed off amid fears of a booby trap. They were waiting for daylight.

Mr Mitchell said: "It is becoming increasingly obvious that as the prospects for a settlement improve, those who do not want there to be a successful outcome have taken more drastic and extreme measures. As we approach the endgame, the possibility of disruptions arises. There is increasing vulnerability to those who do not want the negotiations to succeed."

At Dublin Castle, venue for the talks this week, there was widespread disappointment at the lack of progress. There was no discussion on any constitutional issues during three days dominated by the row over Sinn Féin's presence at the conference table.

Sinn Féin, expected to be ejected from the talks on Monday, is delighted that it failed moves to exclude it after Ronnie Flanagan, RUC chief constable, said that the IRA was responsible for two murders in Belfast last week.

The governments were deliberating whether to suspend Sinn Féin after the other parties had their say. Four of the seven are keen that Sinn Féin remain.

Sinn Féin's battle to remain opened on another front as it went to the High Court in Dublin seeking an injunction to prevent its expulsion. The case continues today.

Even if Sinn Féin does win, the ruling will not apply in Northern Ireland. The talks are back at Stormont on Monday. Sinn Féin's tactics were being viewed as a filibuster.

Gerry Adams, Sinn Féin president, called on the Irish government to oppose Sinn Féin's exclusion. It is still thought the party will be suspended for three weeks, although Mr. Mowlem, the Northern Ireland Secretary, is seen as having mounted a poor case. The Government insists IRA and Sinn Féin are "inextricably linked", which Sinn Féin denies. But her seven-paragraph indictment of Sinn Féin contained no detailed evidence of IRA involvement in the Belfast murders.

Mr Adams demanded that the decision be delivered to Sinn Féin face-to-face allowing Sinn Féin to manage the response of its supporters.

Leader comment, page 9

Fears that 'Mardi Gra' bomber is policeman

Duncan Campbell
Crime Correspondent

THE "Mardi Gra bomber", responsible for more than 30 explosions in and around London over the past three years, could be a serving or former police officer, investigators have been told. The latest device in a campaign which started in 1994 was planted last week.

Officers on the lookout for the bomber have been told by their superiors that he could be a former or serving police officer. One reason for the theory is that no forensic evidence has been left on the devices and the bomber has managed to elude closed-circuit television identification.

The most active extortionist of recent years was a former Metropolitan Police officer, Rodney Whitehead. He was able to keep ahead of the police investigation because he had been on a police course on detecting product contamination.

He continued to drink with former colleagues who unwittingly kept him informed about the investigation. He was jailed for 17 years in 1990.

Police sources stress that the police officer theory is only one of many being examined. Some officers believe it is highly unlikely that a colleague would be involved, and say they are surprised that the suggestion has been put forward officially.

Other theories point to the bomber having a military past because of the material used for the devices, or that

Mardi Gra bomber

Harriet attacks



1997

- 1 Nov 17: South Ruislip
- 2 Nov 17: West Ealing
- 3 Nov 17: Greenford
- 4 Dec 26: Lee Green
- 5 Dec 26: Chislehurst

1998

- 6 Jan 17: Chiswick
- 7 Feb 6: Ealing
- 8 Feb 13: Forest Hill

he is a bankrupt with a grudge.

Although the devices have caused no serious injuries, police are conscious this may not continue. They are also anxious to make an arrest because the campaign has gone on for so long.

The attacks began in 1994 when the target was Barclays Bank or people associated with it. This led to the belief that the bomber could be a disgruntled ex-employee. He told Barclays to make contact with him via the personal columns of the Daily Telegraph but did not respond to attempts to make contact.

Initially, the bomber sent six devices in video boxes containing the words "Welcome to the Mardi Gra [sic] Experience".

In 1996 Sainsbury's became the target. Using the same word processor on which he had written his earlier threats, the bomber wrote to Sir John Sainsbury, the chairman, and signed himself "Mardi Gra".

The latest attack was last

week when a device was left near a Sainsbury's store in east London. A man who had stopped to use a cashpoint early in the morning saw the unattended bag and put it in the back of his car. The device exploded as the man was driving through Blackheath in south London and he threw it out of the car.

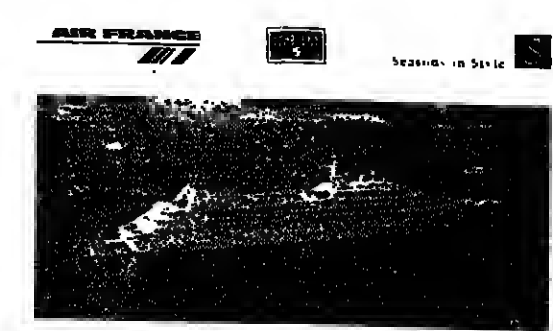
What is puzzling investigators is the fact that the bomber continues to plant devices despite no money having been paid. This indicates that he — or she — may have a different agenda. Among possibilities being examined is that the bomber dresses in women's clothing to make identification by closed-circuit television more difficult.

Another oddity that has emerged from the campaign is that members of the public have no hesitation in picking up unattended shopping bags. A number of the explosions take place some distance from the original target because someone has picked up a bag of apparently unattended groceries.

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Age: Violence warning for Irish talks

Millennium Project winners named



Hit... Skystreme, reflective material for mountain rescues which can double as a splint

Designers' 2000 of the best

Kamal Ahmed
Media Correspondent

LET'S get serious. The Cool Britannia movement tried to throw off its style-obsessed image yesterday when the first winners of a competition to find 2,000 "products of the future" to mark the end of the millennium were announced.

Resisting marketing favourites such as the Car Cosy — a thief-resistant car cover, the Hottie — a waterless hot water bottle, and the Speedmask — an all-in-one swimming cap and goggles invented by David Wilkie, judges plumped for an inflatable life raft and a reflective material to help outdoor rescues.

"We had to choose from the exotically innovative to the downright absurd and we were very tough on the candidates," said Peter Snow, the former Newsnight presenter who was on the panel of judges which picked the first four winners.

"This first glimpse of the field assures me that British inventiveness and sense of humour are alive and well."

The Millennium Project, launched by Tony Blair last year to promote Britain's "creative revolution", will identify 2,000 "millennium" items at the cutting edge of design. Starting in April, 200 will be chosen every six months.

The scheme was made a central part of the cultural and artistic movement which became known as Cool Britannia.

The other two winners, announced on Tomorrow's World last night, are a new material called Gorix, used in heated diving suits; and Anibod, a mannequin which uses video and electronic technology to "talk" and move, and is set to revolutionise museum and heritage site exhibitions.

Another 300 millennium products will be announced by Mr Blair in April.

"We are absolutely delighted to win," said Martin Tallent, the creator of Anibod. "One day the Anibod can be Henry VIII, the next day it can be Anne Boleyn. People find it fascinating to watch."

Wayne Hemingway, the founder of Red or Dead, earlier this month criticised the government-backed Cool Bri-



Miss... David Wilkie's Speedmask, all-in-one swimming goggles and cap

tannia movement for being obsessed with style rather than substance. "Instead of inviting the Gallagher brothers to Downing Street, Blair should be inviting the captains of industry to convince them of the value of design," he said.

But the Design Council, which is backing the millennium products scheme, said

the choice of life-saving equipment revealed that design is about more than swirls on a British Airways aeroplane. "They all highlight the rich variety of creative thinking throughout the nation," said chief executive Andrew Summers, another of the judges.

The panel included Janet Street Porter, Germane

Greer and James Dyson, millionaire designer of the bagless vacuum cleaner.

Ms Greer said she had voted against the Hottie, because it was "sad" and an aspect of what was bad about Britain. She said: "What we really want to do is keep people a bit warmer generally, not warm hits of themselves."

Cool

□ **Marin Ark:** An all-in-one inflatable life raft and chute which allows passengers on stricken boats to jump to safety without entering the water first.

□ **Gorix:** An "intelligent material" which allows the skin to breathe and is heated by an electronic current. Used in diving suits and to heat the tyres of Formula 1 cars.

□ **Skystreme:** A reflective material to help rescuers find people lost on mountains. Can be used as a thermal vest or even a splint.

□ **Anibod:** A talking and moving mannequin for museums. A camera in the neck projects a moving image of a face on to the head, which is moved by electric motors.

"It's mesmerising, captivating. I'm for anything that gets children into museums rather than tapping on computers."

— Janet Street Porter

Uncool

□ **Speedmask:** All-in-one goggles and swimming cap. Invented by David Wilkie, the former Olympic swimming champion.

□ **Hotties:** Hot water bottle replacement which uses strips of old material soaked with a water and preservative mixture. Pop it in the microwave and then warm your feet. Already on sale in some supermarkets, the inventor, Adrian Fellows, said that if it splits it does not make a mess.

□ **Car Cosy:** Criticised by the judges for encouraging cars to take up yet more space, the cosy is a theft deterrent as well as a good way of keeping bird droppings off the roof.

□ **Apollo:** Fram with hood and air filter, to stop babies inhaling traffic fumes. Tested in London, inventors said filters were black with pollution after only seven days.

Redwood is humbled over attack on Kohl

Michael White
and Mark Milner

WILLIAM Hague last night ordered John Redwood, his defeated leadership rival, to withdraw a statement condemning German Chancellor Helmut Kohl with the Freedom of the City of London — the first such award to a European statesman.

After City officials protested and Margaret Beckett, the cabinet minister hounded daily by Mr Redwood, fired off a letter to Mr Hague, the Tory leader forced his trade and industry spokesman to back down.

The row overshadowed the speeches, the ceremonies and the noisy demonstration outside Guildhall which marked the visit of Mr Kohl and his family, and included tea with the Blairs in Downing Street. The German chancellor was being given the honour — also bestowed on Princess Diana, Nelson Mandela and Lady Thatcher — for his services to Europe and the reunification of Germany.

It was precisely those services that triggered Mr Redwood's attack, as well as an onslaught in yesterday's Daily Mail "Why Are We Honouring This Man?" and a demonstration, supported by the right-wing Freedom Association.

Mr Redwood, obsessive in his campaign against the European single currency, detected a Downing Street plot. "It appears that the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary have been very keen to recognise Mr Kohl in this way, probably as part of their efforts to prepare for the abolition of the pound by stealth. If Mr Blair does want to recognise Mr Kohl, he should say so and do so openly," he said.

After tabling Commons questions to find out whose idea the award had been.

"Instead, he has embarrassed the City of London, who will now be entertaining a most important guest against the most unfortunate background of a street protest. The City, to make amends, will ignore Chancellor Kohl's work on monetary union in their citation," Mr Redwood added.

Labour ministers were delighted, and senior Tories grunted their teeth. Whatever his differences over the single currency, Mr Hague believes Mr Kohl's place in history is deserved, not least for reuniting his country. Michael Howard represented the shadow cabinet at last night's official dinner.

Tony Blair believes that Mr Redwood embodies fundamental political problems within the Tory ranks that will keep them in opposition for years: factional infighting over issues that do not excite voters.

Mrs Beckett challenged Mr Hague to repudiate his colleague or be accused of "leading your party in an increasingly extreme xenophobic direction" against the national interest.

Mr Redwood's comments yesterday also angered City officials.

"Mr Blair did not lean on us to give him this honour. We were looking at ways of celebrating the unification of Europe and peace in Europe for over 50 years," explained Judith Mayhew, chair of the City Corporation's policy and resources committee.

A hundred demonstrators carrying banners reading "No to the EU", "Save our £" and "No to Kohl's European empire" protested outside Guildhall during the ceremony. They lined the road, waving Union Jacks.

In his acceptance speech, Mr Kohl sought to allay fears of a centralised Europe. "The Europe we are building will not be a centralist omnipotent community based in Brussels. It will be a thoroughly democratic Europe capable of action which will respond to the needs of the people, a Europe which respects the identity, traditions and culture of all member states and their regions."

However, he was quick to underline his commitment to the single European currency, arguing that "the euro will strengthen Europe's position in global markets which are becoming increasingly competitive."

"An economically divided Europe would not be able to withstand such competition in the long run."

Hugo Youngs, page 8

Mussolini corpse faces DNA test

Paternity suit by 'love child' threatens to dig up the Duce

John Hooper in Rome

A LAWYER has petitioned for the body of Italy's fascist dictator, Benito Mussolini, to be dug up to test the claim of a woman who says she is the Duce's unrecognised natural daughter.

In a document submitted to the courts, Carlo Maccalini asks for DNA testing on the corpse if the Duce's descen-

dants refuse to take blood tests.

Claudia Apriotti, aged 69, claims to be the result of a fleeting relationship between the dictator and a teenage aristocrat — a member of one of Rome's most illustrious families. She is the seventh illegitimate child attributed to Mussolini, whose sexual appetite was legendary.

Ms Apriotti says she was born on February 5 1929, and that her mother was the then

19-year-old Princess Sveva Vittoria Colonna. The princess is still alive and can expect to be called as a witness if the case goes further. Mr Maccalini said the princess did not recognise Ms Apriotti as her daughter.

In a deposition, reported yesterday in the weekly magazine Oggi, Ms Apriotti says she was first brought up in a castle. "After two and a half years spent far from prying eyes, I was fostered to a couple who were peasant farmers at Vassanello, near Viterbo, north of Rome." She married in 1946 and moved to the capital, where she still lives.

Her lawyer said he had listed witnesses he wants subpoenaed. Among them is a Jesuit priest Ms Apriotti claims acted as a go-between, delivering money from the princess's family to her foster parents.

"We are asking for Mussolini's heirs to submit to tests, and only if they refuse, for the body to be exhumed. I hope it does not come to that," Mr Maccalini said.

Mussolini, who was shot by partisans at the end of the second world war, is buried in the village of Predappio, in the Romagna region, where he was born.



Jerry: "So we have a woman who hates her best friend's husband so much she'll pay for their divorce?"
Gina (producer): "Yes but she's not a lesbian, she's just vicarious."
Jerry: "And this friend is called Misty?"
Joanna Coles meets Jerry Springer

G2 cover story

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4 BRITAIN

Home Secretary refuses new inquiry

Hillsborough 'betrayal' say relatives

Alan Travis
Home Affairs Editor

RELATIVES of the 96 fans who died at Hillsborough nine years ago angrily attacked the Home Secretary's decision yesterday to rule out any new public inquiry into the worst disaster in British football history.

As some families contemplated starting on the long and uncertain road of taking out a private prosecution, Jack Straw told the bereaved that he fully understood that they felt "betrayed" by those responsible for policing the Hillsborough football ground and for the state of the ground that day.

The report published yesterday was ordered last June to "get to the bottom of this matter once and for all". The 96 who died were all Liverpool fans who had travelled to the Sheffield Wednesday sta-

'There is not a shred of comfort in it. It is a better whitewash even than last time'

dium to see the 1989 FA Cup semi-final game against Nottingham Forest.

The Home Secretary said the eight months of scrutiny of alleged new evidence that had been carried out by Lord Justice Stuart-Smith had uncovered nothing of significance to add to the previous inquiry by the late Lord Taylor.

"They are angry I have accepted those conclusions too. I would ask them to read the report very carefully and I would hope in time to come to an understanding that the establishment of this further inquiry and the way Lord Justice Stuart-Smith conducted it shows very great respect for their bereavement."

But Trevor Hicks, chairman of the family support group, said the relatives of those who had died on April 15 1989 were disgusted by the decision. "This is a case of New Labour, new betrayal. In very simple terms there is nothing for the families."

Mr Straw has published the report and as you can tell

from our reaction we are totally devastated. There is not a shred of comfort in it at all. It is a better whitewash even than last time. It has just been better done."

Some of the families who had travelled to London to be briefed personally on the findings of the Stuart-Smith report published yesterday by Mr Straw walked out of the Commons in protest before hearing the details of his statement to MPs.

The Stuart-Smith report does uphold Lord Taylor's scathing criticism that the fundamental cause of the disaster was a failure of police control.

He says that the police officer in charge that day, Chief Superintendent David Duckenfield of the South Yorkshire police, had told "a disgraceful lie" when he suggested that Hillsborough's Gate C had been forced open by fans. It was the police decision to open this gate and their failure to steer the 2,000 fans who poured in away from already overcrowded pens at the Leppings Lane end of the ground that lay behind the disaster.

But the judge rejected that new video and medical evidence was sufficiently significant to warrant a new inquiry.

Mr Straw also endorsed the judge's conclusion that there was dismay that no police officer had been held to account in a criminal court or even lost their job.

He said this highlighted the serious shortcomings in the police disciplinary system and Hillsborough was a "real example" of why it had to be reformed. An announcement is to be made before Easter on detailed new legislation which is expected in the autumn.

The Home Secretary also said Hillsborough had proved the most inquest system was unsuitable for dealing with mass disasters. "In my view it would be far better, above all for bereaved families, if there is one fully comprehensive inquiry," said Mr Straw.

Richard Wells, chief constable of South Yorkshire, said he had Lord Justice Stuart-Smith's report would now draw a line under the events at Hillsborough.

The report also discloses that so far £13.25 million has been paid out in compensation and legal costs not including the £1 million-plus compensation to 14 South Yorkshire police officers.



Theresa Glover with a photograph of her son, who died in the disaster, and a banner listing the names of the victims outside Parliament yesterday

PHOTOGRAPHS: MARTIN ARGLES

The mother: I was 'interrogated' by police

David Ward

IN the early hours of April 16 1989, Rose Robinson and her husband Bernard were interviewed by South Yorkshire police officers within minutes of identifying the body of their 17-year-old son, Steven, as he lay in a trolley in a corridor at Hillsborough.

"Basically, we were interrogated," said Mrs Robinson, who travelled to London from Mersyside yesterday with the families of more than 50 Hillsborough victims to hear Jack Straw, the Home Secretary, turn down their request for a new public inquiry.

"We were asked what time Steven left, whether he had had anything to drink, whether he had a ticket. We were in a total state of shock, totally numb, and we were bombarded with questions which we answered like robots. When they had finished the questioning, they said, 'You can go now'. And that was it."

"At that time, the officer in charge was saying that the fans had broken down gates at the ground. It was very upsetting to think that it was the fans themselves who could have caused this disaster. We didn't know that that was all lies."

The Liverpool-Nottingham Forest cup tie was

only the second away game Steven, one of five Robinson children from Blundell, near Crosby, had ever attended. He is now buried in Thornton cemetery.

"He went with friends on a coach. My sons were watching television at home and said there was trouble at Hillsborough. We assumed it was just a bit of crowd trouble," Mrs Robinson said.

"Then we started watching the television — my husband knew, but I didn't, that Steven was in the Leppings Lane end. As the death toll mounted, we became very anxious and we tried to ring the helpline number to no avail."

"Steven's girlfriend phoned and was crying. But we told her we thought she was over-reacting. Steven was a big strong lad who could look after himself. Later one of his friends who had gone to Sheffield with him rang to say he didn't know where Steven was and then we really started to panic. I knew something was the matter because Steven would have known to phone home. He knew I would worry. When you look back, you cannot describe the agony."

"My brother-in-law and his son drove my husband, Steven's girlfriend and me to Hillsborough and we got there about 1am. There was a whole line of photographs

on a wall and they just took us in to look at them. I just couldn't believe it. I asked: 'Do you mean all these people are dead?'

"The first time I looked I couldn't see him and then we started ringing round all the hospitals. But I think I knew in my heart that I hadn't really looked properly at the photographs. I went back with Steven's girlfriend for a second look and we spotted him right away."

"They took us into a corridor and brought out Steven on a trolley. They just uncovered his face and said, 'Is that him?' We said yes. Then they whisked him away and said we were not allowed to have anything to

do with him because he was the property of the Crown." Shortly after that, the South Yorkshire police began asking their questions about Steven.

Mrs Robinson praises Lord Justice Taylor for the speed and thoroughness of his report. But then the inquest attempted to "rewrite the Taylor report and Mrs Robinson is very critical of the choice of witnesses and the decision to impose the 3.15pm cut-off time. The Hillsborough families have long argued that many victims were alive well after that time."

"We want the verdicts [accidental death] quashed. I think the whole inquest should be written off."

Howard's son defends crusade to convert Jews

Stuart Miller

NICK Howard, the son of Michael Howard, the shadow foreign secretary, last night defended accusations that he was involved in a campaign of "spiritual Nazism" for trying to convert Jewish students at Oxford university to Christianity.

Jewish leaders at the university have launched a scathing attack on Mr Howard over his involvement in attempts by the Christian Union group to target Jewish students, whom it describes as "the priority" in its evangelism.

But the 21-year-old English Literature student, who was

raised a Jew but became an evangelical Christian at the age of 15, defended the Christian Union campaign.

"The allegations of Nazism are absolutely horrifying. I realise they have been defended, but I don't think they are right to be offended."

"If people can't stand up for what they believe to be true then how can we resist real Nazis. We will have no basis on which to say that what we are doing is right."

The Christian Union campaign came to light after the student newspaper, *Cherwell*, obtained an internal memo congratulating members for their efforts in attracting Jewish students to a meeting, at which kosher food was

served. Of the 57 who attended, half were Jewish.

"Jewish undergraduates formed a good share — and so our aim of spreading the gospel to this community is being brought to fruition," the memo stated.

"The Jews there heard that Jesus is their Messiah: the suffering servant, high priest and ruling king, who alone can bring them to the Faith," the memo stated.

The memo provoked outrage from Jewish groups. Rabbi Shmuley Boteach, executive director of the L'Chaim society, was so incensed that he complained to the university authorities. He was due to speak against Mr Howard in a debate last night on the

motion: "Was Jesus the Jewish Messiah?"

"In the ten years I have been rabbi at Oxford, this is the most appalling incident I have seen," Rabbi Boteach said yesterday.

"Imagine that the Government launched an initiative to heighten morality and it produced a memo targeting black people whom it claimed had particularly low moral standards. This is the same. It is spiritual Nazism and that's all there is to it."

Mr Howard, who is in his third year at St Catherine's College, is no stranger to controversy. In 1995 an article he had written explaining why he could not vote for Tony Blair was published accident-

tally in the London Evening Standard under the name of Bryan Gould, then a senior Labour shadow cabinet member.

Michael Howard is a practising member of the Liberal Jewish synagogue in St John's Wood, north London. But Nick Howard converted to Christianity at Eton. He was baptised at a summer camp and now describes himself as a "Jewish believer in Jesus".

A university spokeswoman confirmed last night that a complaint against the Christian Union was being investigated.

"I'm sure they will want to deal with this as quickly as possible," she said.



Nick Howard: said to be part of a drive to convert Jews

Thousands may have been given faulty hip

Sarah Boseley

THOUSANDS of people who have undergone hip replacement operations are to be traced and recalled either for further surgery or for tests, because of the discovery that some of the prostheses are faulty, it emerged last night.

It is thought that some 5,000 people have been fitted with the faulty product between August 1, 1991 and March 31, 1997, when it was withdrawn, the manufacturers say, because of decline in demand.

Following a critical study by orthopaedic specialists, surgeons stripped using it. The Department of Health is today expected to issue a warning about the replacement, which could come loose in the body and erode the healthy bones in which it is attached, causing fractures and reducing the chances of success in any future hip replacement operation.

The product is the Capital 3M prosthesis. Last night the manufacturers, 3M Health Care Ltd based in Loughborough, were advising those who have had one of the prostheses implanted to contact their GP or hospital. They also launched a telephone helpline for businesses professionals.

Some people with the faulty prosthesis will have to have it removed and replaced. Others will have to be X-rayed and carefully monitored by their doctor.

The cost of sorting out the problem could run as high as £10,000 a patient — a massive new bill for the NHS.

The Department of Health has been advised to issue its warning by the Medical Devices Agency, which monitors such products. There has been growing concern about the Capital 3M device, culminating in a study last year by

doctors from Harlow Wood Orthopaedic hospital, Nottingham.

The doctors found that up to 26 per cent of patients with Capital 3M hip replacements experienced an early failure of the implant. Their paper, published in the British Journal of Bone and Joint Surgery, showed that on average these prostheses lasted just over two years. Hip replacements are supposed to last about 20 years. One reason for the fault was said to be in the surface, which is coated with titanium nitride.

Capital 3M is based on the design of one of the very first, and top rating hip replacements, Charnley, named after a doctor from the North East. There were more than 250,000 hip operations during the six years when the faulty product was on sale. Just over 4,700 of those were Capital.

Michael Pearce, who has a hip practice at Central Middlesex hospital, London, said: "If the prosthesis fails early the bone becomes thin and revision becomes more difficult. All the patients should be reviewed."

Mr Pearce, who is also head of orthopaedic trauma at Charing Cross hospital, London, blamed the failure on the fact that many hip replacements on the market were untested.

"We know that many of these implants don't last the course but they are still being produced," he said. "Medical devices do not have the stringent controls that the pharmaceutical industry has and auditing is patchy. The warning about the Capital hip replacement highlights the failure of the system based on voluntary controls."

A European directive introduced in 1995 requires clinical evaluation of new implants. The directive, still in the transitional phase, will have to be fully met by June.

Judge awards prisoner £30,000 for police assault

RUC pays damages to Adams's cousin

AN imprisoned cousin of Gerry Adams, the Sinn Féin president, was awarded £30,000 damages yesterday for injuries he received when he was assaulted by several officers.

David Adams, aged 39, suffered a broken leg, two fractured ribs, a punctured lung and multiple cuts and bruises after his arrest in 1994 when police foiled an attempt to murder a senior detective.

Adams is serving a 25-year sentence for his part in the murder conspiracy which he denied.

In a reserved judgment in the High Court in Belfast, Judge Kerr said: "To foil a terrorist attack such as was planned by the plaintiff and his companions and to apprehend heavily armed terrorists called for great courage and commitment on the part of the police officers involved."

"The courage of these police officers and the callous intent of the terrorists cannot excuse the assault upon the plaintiff, however, nor can it mitigate the damages which must be awarded to mark the law's condemnation of such

illegal behaviour. I consider that the appropriate total amount of compensation for personal injuries, aggravated and exemplary damages, is £30,000."

Adams, who is in prison at the Maze, was not brought to court to hear the judge's summary of a 46-page judgment.

In it, Mr Justice Kerr said he found Adams's denial of involvement in the murder conspiracy to be "wholly implausible and incredible".

The judge said he accepted that Adams's injuries were broadly consistent with his account of how they were sustained and were supported by medical evidence.

He said the fractures of the leg and ribs could not be accounted for by the evidence of police falling on Adams or striking him with a knee.

Mr Justice Kerr referred to the evidence of a young couple who were in bed when they heard a commotion during the arrest operation outside their home in East Belfast, in February 1994.

"There is no reason that they should manufacture or exaggerate their version of events," said the judge.

"I consider that their evidence establishes that a police officer shouted 'Fenian bastard' and 'I hope he chokes on his own blood', referring to the plaintiff."

Adams had claimed that police who attacked him were "shouting and squealing like a scene from a Zulu film" and yesterday the judge said: "Not only are the injuries consistent with the plaintiff's account but they cannot be explained if the police account is accepted."

The judge also accepted Adams's evidence that his leg was fractured in Castlereagh holding centre.

Adams had claimed that two police officers took it in turns to take running kicks at him, which were described by his lawyer as the "martial arts type".

Mr Justice Kerr said: "It may be supposed that the sensibilities of someone who is prepared to become involved in an enterprise such as that in which the plaintiff had embarked would be less easily offended than most. I think this factor must be reflected in an assessment of aggravated damages."

No savings in welfare to work plan, say MPs

David Brindle, Social Services Correspondent

TOUGH welfare policies aimed at getting people off benefit and into work are unlikely to save taxpayers money in the medium term, a committee of MPs warned yesterday.

The state may need to spend at least as much, and possibly more, on supporting people in their new jobs as it does on keeping them on benefit, according to the social security select committee.

The committee was reporting after visiting the United States, where it investigated headline welfare reform in the state of Wisconsin. Under the state's rules, claimants can lose all benefit rights if they fail to meet requirements to find work.

Although overall numbers in receipt of state support were found to have fallen, mainly because of the strength of the US economy, those continuing to get help were on average receiving far more because of the cost of in-work subsidies for child care, transport and health.

"Those who look to Wisconsin for a model of how

to reduce the costs of social security are likely to be disappointed," the committee's report concludes. "Wisconsin's schemes are far more developed and mature than those of most other states — and still they are not yet delivering substantial savings."

While the committee says the US experience holds

parents to seek work once their youngest child is 12 weeks old. However, Malcolm Wicks, Labour member for Croydon North, said he believed it was time to discuss ending the "nonsense" rule, dating back to the 1930s, which allowed British lone parents to stay on benefit until their youngest child was aged 16.

The rule had been made in an era when few women worked. Any change, reducing the upper age limit, could be tempered by a guarantee that women would be left to choose between work and benefit until their youngest child was aged five.

Frank Field, Minister for Welfare Reform, last night said the forthcoming green paper on modernising the benefits system — creating "an active, modern service" — would set out a range of objectives rather than detailed proposals.

Giving the Beveridge memorial lecture in London, Mr Field said the paper would provide "a whole series of success measurements forming the basis on which the Government can regularly report on how this range of objectives is being achieved."

"Those who look to Wisconsin for a model of how to reduce the costs of social security are likely to be disappointed"

some valuable lessons for Britain — including how to help families to move to self-sufficiency "with some push where necessary" — it says it is questionable whether the electorate is ready to accept the casualties implicit in the tough approach.

In particular, the MPs say they would not wish to see anything like Wisconsin's requirement for lone

20/11/98

Russia's Richard Branson

Vodka king satisfies Russian shoppers

A Moscow food tycoon is making millions with a smile, writes Tom Whitehouse

VLADIMIR DOVGAN'S business strategy is an extension of his black belt karate prowess. "I don't want to be killed," says the 33-year-old multi-millionaire food magnate and the Soviet brand name. "That's why I'm not interested in oil or banking. Food is far less dangerous."

But thanks to new duties imposed on food imports this week Mr Dovan is set to make a killing himself.

In the immediate wake of the Soviet collapse, American frozen chicken and Chinese pasta held pride of place in supermarket shelves. Now, as Russia's first post-Soviet brand name, "Dovan" vodka, oats and milk pull at the housewife's purse strings.

Happily for Mr Dovan the new protectionist measures make his products relatively cheaper.

"Your Sainsbury's would ruin us," he says, playing his favourite patriotic card. "Foreign food companies have all the experience, all the advantages. It would be a battle between a professional boxer and a child if we let them in."

His appeal for protection against foreigners is made more compelling by his rag-to-riches, pizzas-to-vodka tale of business triumph. A poor boy from the far east with no political connections, he made his first fortune publishing a karate manual. Then came crisps, followed by pizzas. Vodka provided his biggest breakthrough.

"More Russians died through drinking bad vodka in the early 1990s than died in the war in Afghanistan. Selling clean drink that people could trust was a good business idea," he says proudly.

After the first Yeltsin administration ended the monopoly on alcohol production there was an explosion in the moonshine distillery business

'Selling clean drink that people could trust was good business'

that destroyed the reputation of Russia's national drink, and thousands of its consumers along with it.

While the new rich turned to Swedish and Finnish brands, Dovan sold middle- and lower-class drinkers proven vodka from qualified producers. The Dovan brand was born when he put his bearing smile above the all bottles.

That was 18 months ago. Now the logo and a numbered bond promising satisfaction

or your money back — which doubles as a lottery ticket — is stuck on more than 200 products, including lemonade, flour, lard, brandy, beer and kvas (a traditional weak rye-beer).

Mr Dovan plans to franchise his name to 1,000 more products by the end of the year, without owning the factories that produce them.

Using a media profile that makes Richard Branson seem shy and retiring, he reinvents himself as a Russian patriot.

"Without Dovan I would not have had a chance for a real education," says Sergei Shushko, one of the hundred poor teenagers enrolled at the Dovan Institute of New Business Technologies in Moscow.

"We don't want to be dependent on foreigners any more. We must rely on ourselves," says another student.

Contestants in a weekly Dovan television game-show compete for his products. For the New Year edition he made a guest appearance as Uncle Frost (Russia's Father Christmas) distributing free sweets.

But there is a limit to customer loyalty, and price is crucial. Mr Dovan's cakes are not exceedingly good, just relatively cheap and Russian.

"Russians do have particular tastes, but of course if foreign goods are cheaper they will sell more," he says.

Asked if his charitable instincts extend to paying taxes, Mr Dovan is evasive. "I do not have European accounts, I have Russian ones. Anyways, the government makes it impossible to do business completely legally."



Vladimir Dovan is fit and ready to conquer his market after taking his 6am bath in the ice hole

Wine cures all
ills for French
light drinkers

Jon Hanley in Paris

TWO or three glasses of wine a day are not only good for the heart, they can reduce the risk of death from all causes — including cancer — by up to 30 per cent, a leading French scientist said yesterday.

Serge Renaud, a respected cardiologist who was the first to show that 20-30 grammes of alcohol a day could cut the risk of coronary heart disease, said his latest study indicated that wine acts effectively against other heart problems and cancers.

"The results of our study were the same, whether the subject was a smoker, a non-smoker or an ex-smoker, a white-collar or a blue-collar worker, and regardless of his level of education," he said.

"The evidence seems to show fairly convincingly that a moderate intake of wine reduces mortality from all causes."

The findings, published in the March edition of the American magazine *Epidemiology*, summarise the results of the first big survey of moderate wine consumption in France and its effects on health.

Mr Renaud and a team from the Inserm Institute at the University of Bordeaux followed a sample of 34,000 middle-aged men in eastern France over 12-15 years. More than 70 per cent of them were regular wine drinkers, and wine was more than 40 per cent of the alcohol intake. The results showed a 30 per cent reduction in death rates

from all causes among the men who drank 2-3 glasses of wine a day, a 35 per cent reduction from cardiovascular disease, and an 18-24 per cent reduction from cancer.

But Mr Renaud warned that after more than four glasses a day, wine has an adverse effect on mortality rates. "Our data shows that while cardiovascular problems continue to be eased by heavier wine consumption, death from cancers and liver disease becomes more likely," he said.

Heavy wine drinkers were 70 per cent more likely to die of cancer.

After more than four glasses a day, wine has an adverse effect

In his 1992 study, Mr Renaud established that wine protects the heart mainly by acting on platelets in the blood to prevent clotting. Subsequent studies in the United States and elsewhere supported his findings, which are now widely accepted.

The results support what he has dubbed "the French paradox": the French eat a diet high in saturated fat, but tend to live longer and have one of the lowest rates of coronary and cardiovascular disease in the industrialised world.

"It seems regular and moderate consumption of wine is what makes the difference," Mr Renaud said.

Sudanese
refugees
struggle
under yoke
of Islam

Jonathan Steele
in Khartoum

AN UNEXPECTED roar of jubilation interrupted the mourning in Sudan for the vice-president and six others killed in a plane crash last week. Dr Hassan al Turabi, the ideological leader of the country's Islamic regime, had just announced that the only Christian among the dead was a last-minute convert to Islam.

There was a surprised pause, followed by triumphant shouts in Arabic from several thousand mourners: "There is no God but God. God is Great." Hundreds of fists stabbed the air in delight.

The news that Arok Thon Arok, a civil-war leader from the south who signed a peace deal with the government last year, had become a Muslim astonished no one more than his family.

Unlike the other six bodies, which were laid out at the official farewell ceremony in white winding-sheets each covered by the national flag, Arok Thon Arok's corpse was in a coffin.

When the cortege reached the Muslim cemetery his family demanded the coffin be opened before they released it to be taken for Christian burial, a family friend said later.

The macabre tug-of-war was still a talking-point the next day in the dust bowl of refugee camps on the outskirts of Khartoum and its sister city, Omdurman, the home of thousands of Christians who have fled north to escape the war.

Most of them describe the dead southern leader as the handful of other southerners who signed the peace deal as "opportunists". But they regard the attempt to present him as a Muslim, even if in death, as another example of the pressure for conversion which has grown in Sudan since the National Islamic Front took power in an army coup in 1989.

"You can never get a job in Khartoum unless you become a Muslim," said Philip Makuc, headmaster of a school supported by the Roman Catholic Church. He was recently told that his school would have to close before the end of March.

The school abides by the Islamic regime's rules. Girls wear headscarves and sit across the aisle from boys. The teaching is in Arabic. English — once the lingua franca — is not taught before the children reach their teens, and even then its use is restricted.

But the government is still not satisfied. In the past three years 10 other schools have been closed in the area.

Although the tide of conversion began under previous governments, it has accelerated since the Front took power. Africans complain of the ban on alcohol and public dancing.

Pay up, demand camp victims
as case reaches crucial stage

By Jonathan Watts in Tokyo

A THREE-YEAR legal fight by survivors of Japanese second world war labour camps for compensation reaches a crucial stage today when a British prisoner of war and two other veterans give final evidence before the Tokyo district court.

The judgment expected this spring could set the tone for the first visit to Britain by the Emperor Akihito, who arrives in London in May.

When Tony Blair visited Tokyo last month the two governments sought to ensure that the emperor will not face the wall of silence that greeted his father Hirohito as he was driven through London crowds during the last visit by a head of the Japanese imperial family in 1971.

But former POWs are threatening action if there is no progress on the compensation issue.

In the court case, launched in January 1995, seven plaintiffs are demanding £300 million and an apology on behalf of 20,000 POWs and civilian internees for their suffering in the camps.

"This is the final lap of the case at this level," said their lawyer, Martyn Day.

The Japanese government maintains that the compensation issue was settled by the 1951 Treaty of San Francisco, under which POWs were paid £70 each.

The plaintiffs argue that they are entitled to seek damages as individuals rather than have the matter settled on their behalf at government level.

Arthur Titherington, aged 76, chairman of the Japan Labour Camp Survivors' Association, is expected to give evidence today about his 30 months in a copper mine in Taiwan, where he says Japanese soldiers beat him with bamboo to make him work harder.

Of the 532 men who entered the labour camp with Mr Titherington, only 100 survived.

"Our hope is that the courts of this country are sufficiently autonomous that the emperor has a tough visit will look at this case from a judicial and humanitarian point of view," he said.

"There is no dispute about the facts of what happened. It is really up to the judiciary to say 'Yes, you deserve compensation and a real apology'."

The survivors voiced their anger at the foot-dragging that had held up the case so far.

"There is a feeling that the Japanese government, which was responsible for the deaths of so many in the war, is now just waiting for the deaths of the survivors," said Keith Martin, chairman of the Association of British Civilian Internees Far East Region.

According to the group's lawyer, the survivors are increasingly militant about the lack of movement on the compensation issue.

"If there is no progress, it would not be surprising if the emperor has a tough visit. The two governments cannot look forward and talk about peace and reconciliation if they haven't dealt with the past," Mr Day said.

"Akihito did not do anything wrong, but somebody must take moral responsibility," said Mr Titherington.

"We haven't officially made any plans, because we are waiting to see what comes from this week. We are hoping that the mood of the court will be such that it won't be necessary to take action during the emperor's visit."

During Mr Blair's visit to Tokyo, the Japanese prime minister, Ryutaro Hashimoto, repeated an expression of government remorse for the ill-treatment of labour camp internees and promised an extra £125,000 for a scholarship programme for the grandchildren of British POWs to study in Japan. The Japanese government presented this as a significant step forward.

The survivors' group dismissed the package as a "joke", saying that Mr Blair had no right to represent people he had not bothered to meet.

"The British government appears to be trying to draw a line under the compensation issue. It is as if they are saying, 'We have to get on with it and give the emperor a good time when he comes over,'" Mr Day said.

"But our message is that we want justice and we are not going to go away. We will fight to the last man and woman."



"Akihito did not do anything wrong, but somebody must take moral responsibility," says Arthur Titherington (left). He hopes the survivors will not need to protest during the emperor's visit to Britain.

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Wolf revival takes their old
foes out of the pets' parlour

John Hooper in Rome

THE Worldwide Fund for Nature (WWF) is to train a breed of Italian dogs to guard sheep against wolves in the Alps — an area to which the predator is returning after an absence of almost a century.

The scheme, funded by the European Union, is the latest response to the revival in southern Europe of an animal that occupies a menacing place in its folklore. In Italy, where the wolf population fell to below 100 in 1973, it has been re-established with the help of a WWF repopulation programme.

But in several parts of Mediterranean Europe the number of wolves has been climbing naturally, encouraged by the exodus of people to towns and cities.

In the Spanish region of Castile-Leon, especially, wolves have thrived in areas deserted by humans.

The WWF estimates that there are now some 500 wolves in Italy's central Apennine mountains. A further 30 are believed to have found their way to the Alps, which has also seen the beginnings of a revival of lynxes and bears.

Many shepherds no longer have the means to deal with predators. The problem is particularly acute in the Alps, where French farmers have held protests against the ravages of "Italian" wolves from across the border.

The WWF in Rome said yesterday that it was setting up a centre to re-adapt one of the world's most

fearless breeds. The Abruzzo Mastiff, robbed of its traditional role by the drop in wolf numbers, has come to be more of a pet than a working dog.

Yet this big, long-haired, white sheep dog — similar to the Pyrenean — is among the very few which can be trained to seek off wolves without killing them. A comparative study in the early 1980s by a researcher from Hampshire University in Massachusetts concluded that it was the ideal wolf deterrent.

"The idea is to protect the sheep, not also the wolves," a WWF spokeswoman said.

A scheme for retraining Abruzzo Mastiffs has already been launched by farmers in the Apennines in collaboration with the Abruzzo National Park.

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Buds of Grace withers as Taipei
conducts crackdown on vice

Andrew Higgins in Taipei

EVERY working day for 10 years, Kuan Yu-chin, 15 minutes at a time, in a concrete-floored cubicle with custard-coloured walls, fluorescent lighting and an electric fan.

By her own count, she escorted five clients a day through a red curtain at the Buds of Grace, a brothel sandwiched between a gold-seller and a Buddhist temple.

It took an encounter with the mayor of Taipei, however, for Ms Kuan and her co-workers to raise their voices and fight in revolt. He ordered them to get another job.

"I'm a sex worker and I demand my right to work," said the mother of three, aged 48, her lips painted as brightly as the Chinese New Year greetings on the wall.

"Taking away our job does not eliminate vice. It just makes it blacker. What we do is very pure."

power promising a "city of happiness and hope" and wants to outlaw the sex trade in a crackdown last September, he turned off the water and electricity in "barber-shops", "massage parlours" and other establishments selling illegal sex. At the same time, he revoked the permits of the licensed brothels.

Only 128 of the 10,000 women estimated to work in Taipei's sex trade have permits, but they have become the public focus of the campaign.

"Taiwan is a member of international society and it must stay in step with the majority," Mr Chen said. Only 20 countries sanctioned prostitution, he said, and Taiwan should not be among them.

The crackdown has won enthusiastic support from many residents, but the prostitutes, backed by radical labour and feminist groups, have mounted noisy protests. Whenever Mr Chen appears in public he gets heckled by prostitutes. They disrupted a

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Kaunda is
charged

The former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda, aged 73, appeared in court yesterday to be charged with concealing information about a failed coup in October. — Reuters.

Swiss ministers back heroin
prescriptions for addicts

DRUG addicts should be given heroin under medical supervision to help them break the habit, the Swiss government said yesterday after the cabinet approved a bill allowing officially sanctioned prescription of the drug.

The bill was discussed last month with the cantons, political parties and health authorities.

"The hearing showed that the proposed federal decree

First Titanic film
found in Berlin

THE world's first film about the Titanic, a 30-minute "silent" made in Berlin just two months after the ocean liner sank, has been discovered on the shelf of a Berlin film collector, a German newspaper said yesterday.

The Tagesspiegel daily said that a copy of *In Night and Ice*, which is believed to be the first of at least eight feature films on the 1912 disaster, had been found after a long search.

"The film is historically significant because it was made soon after the Titanic sank," journalist Andreas Anstalt said. — Reuters.

MD wouldn't
spare a bean

A KENYAN doctor who removed a bean stuck in the ear of a young girl forced it back when her parents said they couldn't afford the bill, local newspapers reported yesterday.

The Daily Nation said the doctor successfully removed the bean and then presented the parents with a bill for 350 shillings (around \$4).

When they said they had only 270 shillings with them, the doctor forced the bean back into the child's ear and ejected the family from his surgery.

The Kenya Medical Association said it was investigating the incident. — Reuters.

6 IRAQ CRISIS

Dutch attack Blair for siding with US

Europe

Ian Traynor in Bonn and
Stephen Bates in Brussels

BITAIN'S presidency of the EU came under sustained attack by the Netherlands and MEPs at the European Parliament yesterday for backing the US and its threat of military action against Iraq rather than attempting to fashion a united European position to deal with the crisis.

Hans van Mierlo, the Dutch foreign minister, delivered a stinging personal attack on Tony Blair, accusing him of deliberately keeping European Union colleagues in the dark over policy on Iraq.

"The United Kingdom has big problems meeting its obligations as an EU member. As president, it is also trying to keep the EU on the outside as much as possible," Mr van Mierlo told the Rotterdam daily newspaper *Algemeen Dagblad*.

In discussing the Saddam dilemma, Mr Blair took only with the Americans and was not keeping other EU states informed, he said. This was hampering EU efforts to forge a common foreign and security policy.

The MEPs, meeting in Strasbourg, voiced resent-

ment that the Government, which holds the current six-months presidency of the EU, has acted unilaterally, even though Europe does not have a common foreign policy and has so far been unable to shape a coherent response to Saddam Hussein.

The Netherlands, along with Britain traditionally the most Atlanticist of the EU-Nato countries, has agreed to send naval forces to join the flotilla gathering in the Gulf.

Mr van Mierlo's criticisms were not shared by the German chancellor, Helmut Kohl, who discussed the Gulf conflict with Mr Blair yesterday in London, where the chancellor was awarded the freedom of the City of London. "We can't agree with the Dutch criticism," said a German foreign ministry spokesman.

"We haven't gained the impression that the British EU presidency has not been keeping us sufficiently informed," Members of the parliament seized on the institutional issue of Britain's presidency to cover hostility to the Americans and fears of the consequences of military action, during the course of a three-hour debate which showed few signs of developing a united position towards Iraq.

As in previous foreign policy crises, including the last Gulf confrontation with Saddam in 1991, MEPs could not agree how the EU could intervene. They even criticised the

choice of Doug Henderson, the junior Foreign Office minister with responsibility for Europe, to answer for Britain instead of a more senior minister.

Mr Henderson told the parliament: "Our presidency has fulfilled its obligations under the treaty in that we have kept other members fully informed of the positions that we have expressed a view on and where it has been possible to identify EU positions we have defended those positions in our representations."

Of Britain's EU partners, France remains resolutely opposed to military action and only Germany and Denmark have offered the use of military bases.

Privately, British officials have been scathing about European divisions and other member states' reluctance to support the US threat of military intervention.

Even Pauline Green, the Labour MEP and loyal Blairite who leads the European Parliament's socialist group, was critical of the Government's lack of effort to enlist EU support.

She said: "In our view information is not enough. This parliament needs the council of ministers to find a common position. We recognise the difficulties and lack of precision and real competence in the treaty but the EU is a role model for conflict resolution."



Playwright Harold Pinter taking part in a Whitehall vigil last night in protest against a military bombardment of Iraq

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARTIN ARQUES

FROM THE ACCLAIMED DIRECTOR OF 'MY LEFT FOOT' AND 'IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER'

"...a wonderful love story..."

Ian Nathan-Emery

"Thoughtful and thought-provoking, very well made and extremely well acted throughout."

Barry Norman - Film 98



DANIEL DAY-LEWIS
EMILY WATSON

THE
BOXER

UNIVERSAL PICTURES PRESENTS A FILM BY JOHN DAHLQUIST THE BOXER DANIEL DAY-LEWIS EMILY WATSON
ALEX STEVENSON JULIA BERRY CAROL MCGILLIAN TONY FREEMAN MAURICE BELLER JOHN FAVREAU
ERIC MORGAN JIM SAMPSON & TERRY O'NEILL JIM SAMPSON ARTHUR LADDON JOHN DAHLQUIST A UNIVERSAL RELEASE

STARTS TOMORROW AT CINEMAS ACROSS THE COUNTRY

Funereal air as the left stages Whitehall vigil

Sarah Hall

THEY were asked to wear black, to carry candles and to the black ribbons to the trees and railings around Whitehall. In the end, some of the funeral props were absent last night as hundreds gathered outside Downing Street in a protest against war with Iraq.

But the anger was tangible as the playwright Harold Pinter and actress Frances de la Tour joined left-wing MPs Tony Benn, George Galloway and Jeremy Corbyn to denounce the prospect of a massive military bombardment against Iraq.

Student demonstrators from the Student Coalition against War in the Gulf struggled to handcuff themselves to the gates of Downing Street. Three were arrested after approaching the gates as a deputation of MPs was entering Downing Street to deliver a letter of protest

against the Government's approach to the Iraqi crisis.

As candles were lit, and the crowd swelled to around 600, Mr Galloway, MP for Glasgow Kelvin, warned that millions of Iraqi women and children would die "in the next couple of weeks" if war went ahead.

"We will see the same obscenity that we saw in the last Gulf war of innocent Iraqis who never elected Saddam Hussein and cannot remove him however many times we go to war with Iraq. The regime remains unscathed, and those who pay the price are the innocent," he said.

Ms de la Tour accused the Government, President Clinton and Israel of contemplating "an act of terrorism".

The sanctions imposed on the Iraqi people — which she said had caused the deaths of over a million children — "were a kind of genocide".

"Robin Cook said from the House of Commons that

he has no quarrel with the Iraqi people but he is prepared to decimate them out of existence," she said. "A war won't stop Saddam Hussein being a dictator, because if anything it will strengthen his resolve and he will take it out on his own people."

Mr Benn, who was greeted with cheers as he spoke, recalled living through the Blitz as a child and stressed that "war is frightening. War is barbaric. It destroys lives — and we somehow seem to be under the impression that if we kill an Arab or if we kill a Muslim it doesn't really count".

Faiz Ali, once a 1960s student revolutionary, spoke out against the argument that Saddam's possible chemical and biological arsenal justified an attack.

"One half of British intelligence believes there are no chemical weapons in Iraq. The other doesn't know where they are, so where are you going to bomb?" he asked.

The final word went to Harold Pinter. He spoke of the "anger and nausea and the disgust that we all share here tonight."

"It's absolutely shocking, shameful and humiliating that we voted this government into power last year and, to our horror, they have kissed the arse of the American government even more than any Conservative government. This is truly sickening."

Labour's new MPs take cover amid talk of war

Westminster

Lucy Ward
Political Correspondent

WHAT has happened to Labour's class of '97 as the drums of war start rolling? Are so many of them ex-teachers and public sector officials that their horizons do not stretch beyond Dover? Or is it their loyalty to Tony Blair's leadership that has rendered them largely silent during the crisis?

MPs on both sides started asking themselves such yesterday, after the new intake was conspicuously low-profile during Tuesday night's debate which the Government won handily by 493 to 25 — after passionate exchanges between MPs who have been quarrelling over Middle East policy for decades.

But why has the Class of '97 remained largely silent on the prospect of their country's entry into war?

During the six-hour debate, senior backbenchers (starting with John Major) rushed to intervene. A number of newcomers were there throughout the debate, including eight women among 38 MPs present during the dinner hour, at 8.30pm. The veteran Ann Clwyd made a speech supporting the Blair line.

Yet, of the new boys and girls, only Thanet MP Dr Stephen Ladyman spoke at

length on the issue, although two others — Midway MP Bob Marshall-Andrews and Liverpool Riverside MP Louise Ellman — squeezed in probing questions.

Anti-war rallies and public meetings on the Gulf crisis at Westminster have seen similar absences of the class of '97. Ann Cryer, the new Labour MP for Keighley who abstained in the Iraq vote, admits very few new colleagues attended meetings for MPs concerned at the prospect of military strikes.

"Curiously apolitical" intake of 97 almost silent in Commons debate

One long-serving left-winger, describing the newly elected members as "curiously apolitical", said last night: "We do a lot of stuff for our constituents which is really glorified social work, and a lot of turning up for turning up's sake, but the one thing that really does fall to an MP and no one else is to decide whether your country goes to war or not."

"You would have thought everybody would actually be making an effort to find out about this."

Liberal Democrat Dr Jenny Tonge managed a question in the debate, and another on Iraq at PM's Questions yester-

day. But she backs the Government on the crisis, and was disappointed by shortage of women in the main debate.

"Women should seek greater involvement in defence issues," she said. "I feel women would handle diplomacy in a different way, and be less likely than men to take up a particular position and then have great difficulty backing down from it."

One new MP, who voted with the Government, admitted privately: "I think a lot of new people feel a bit uncomfortable with foreign affairs and don't feel completely at ease talking about it. There are so many people who have been here a long time and know all the ins and outs."

Another, who claims her Midlands constituents have barely raised the issue, said: "What is happening in the Gulf is very unsettling for everybody. So if you don't quite know what to say you say nothing."

Islington North's Jeremy Corbyn, a member of the anti-war Emergency Committee on Iraq (and an early critic of Saddam Hussein) sees new members' reticence as "a shame" — but acknowledges the fear some feel of commenting on foreign policy issues.

"Most have little experience of foreign affairs and it is not an area they feel comfortable in. When I first came here I remember that in particular being quite intimidating." That may be an encouraging sign for new MPs. He is far from intimidated now.

The channels are pouring in troops and money and their websites are already online, writes Joanna Coles in New York

Oh what a lovely TV ratings war!

The media

FOR the American television channels, the war — for ratings — has already started. "CNN has a handful of top reporters but NBC has a stable," boasted Chris Hampson, a senior producer for MSNBC, the 24-hour news channel which will compete with CNN during the conflict. It will be a ratings battle fought with satellite phones and the Internet. During the last Gulf conflict, Ted Turner's Cable News Network shredded the competition, making stars of Peter Arnett, John Holliman, Bernard Shaw and Christiane Amanpour, who reported as the first woman from Baghdad. This time ABC, NBC and BBC's News24 are determined to offer an alternative. Indeed, on January 6 1991 Americans learned they had gone to war only after seeing it live on CNN. The official confirmation came 30 minutes later, at 7.07pm, from the then White House spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater. Later that evening the defence secretary, Richard Cheney, said he thought the bombing raids had been successful because that was what he had heard on CNN.

"We have people in Baghdad, Tel Aviv, Bahrain, we're reinforcing London, we've got people at the Pentagon and the state department," Mr Hampson said. "CNN had no competition last time. This time it will be different."

'CNN had no competition last time. This time it will be different'

CNN, which has 20 people in the Iraqi capital, estimates that it will cost an extra £1 million a week to keep its crew in place. How much will it cost MSNBC? "Lots," said Mr Hampson. "But we're prepared."

reporters to exaggerate the accuracy of so-called smart bombs. This time, with only the possibility of intermittent air strikes to cover, the US media are debating how to avoid such mistakes. "We're going to be at the mercy of the government's pictures," one producer told the Los Angeles Times. "We don't know what controls might be put on us," said Bill Wheatley, vice-president of NBC News. Certainly, Iraq seems aware how useful it can be to give foreign journalists access. During the last conflict Mr Arnett was attacked by US politicians for going to a bombed factory which the Iraqis claimed produced baby milk, although US sources insisted it was an arms plant. Arthur Keot, who reported for NBC during the last conflict, said he was appalled by the "show business" direction in which television news was moving. He recalled how he became conscious that NBC was trying to make him a star, rather than a star reporter, and that it was favouring sensationalism. When he went public with his accusations, the company sacked him, accusing him of cowardice for refusing a Bosnia assignment. He sued and won, but left anyway.

Leader comment, letters, page 9



CNN's Christiane Amanpour became a star, along with Peter Arnett, John Holliman and Bernard Shaw, for their reports during the 1991 Gulf war

A decent man in quest of peace

Kofi Annan, the United Nations' top official, faces the toughest task in his long diplomatic career. Mark Tran in New York profiles the man who may be able to stop the Western war machine being launched



Kofi Annan speaks to journalists before embarking on his mission to Baghdad

HOPE of a peaceful outcome to the Iraq crisis rests on Kofi Annan as the soft-spoken United Nations secretary-general embarks on the greatest challenge of his long diplomatic career. The 59-year-old Ghanaian arrives in Baghdad tomorrow with only tepid support from the US for this last diplomatic attempt to get Saddam Hussein to open his "presidential sites" to UN weapons inspectors. Mr Annan's room to manoeuvre is limited and his trip amounts to little more than a polite ultimatum to President Saddam — either Iraq accepts, as a face-saving measure, that the UN weapons inspectors should be accompanied by diplo-

rats (described by UN inspectors as "the dignified police") or the US and Britain will unleash their war planes. Mr Annan had to go, with the world looking to him as the last best hope for peace. In the last few days he has become a familiar figure on the television screen: arriving at UN headquarters, a long grey scarf looped around his neck, pausing for brief remarks to journalists. The secretary-general, who oozes kindness and decency, is thoroughly liked by his staff, unlike his predecessor, the autocratic Boutros Boutros-Ghali. But at times he seeks to counter the impression that his surfeit of decency is a drawback to the world's

top diplomat. In an interview with the BBC last week he said: "I am by nature a conciliator, but I can be firm when it is necessary. And I can hold the line when issues or principles are involved. And let me say that I'm not one of those who believe that you have to pound the table or shout to be tough." Nevertheless, he has been a soft touch several times. Laurent Kabila, the recently undermined UN effort to investigate human rights atrocities allegedly committed by his forces during the military campaign to unseat former president Mobutu. Mr Kabila ignored Mr Annan's threat to withdraw a team of UN investi-

gators unless the Congolese government gave them unfettered access. Mr Annan did not press too hard since Washington had decided Mr Kabila was a man it wanted to do business with. On UN reform, one of the main reasons why the US favoured him to replace the confrontational Mr Boutros-Ghali, Mr Annan initially pushed for a single management board to take charge of the various development agencies, such as the Children's Fund and Development Programme. But he backed off when department heads fought to retain their independence. Despite his reform programme, the US has yet to pay its dues of \$1.4 billion. Mr Annan has dealt with Baghdad before. He negotiated the repatriation of 900 international staff and the release of Western hostages after the invasion of Kuwait in 1990. In 1991 he persuaded the Iraqi government to agree to discuss an oil-for-food humanitarian arrangement to ease the impact of UN sanctions on the population. He caught the eye of the big powers during the Bosnia crisis, when he was undersecretary-general for peacekeeping. "He is the only top official of the UN who came out of the Bosnia experience with dignity and without having harmed the organisation or relations with any of the great powers," said one American official. "This time he is going up against one of the world's wildest dictators." The secretary-general has the ability to provide a level of comfort to people who are in dire need of a saving, said Clotilde Makumbi, a former UN ambassador of the Arab League who worked with the man who carries with him what may be the last hope of peace in the Gulf.

Baghdad lifts lid on factories

The targets

Reuters in Baghdad

IRAQ, keen to show it is cooperating with United Nations weapons inspectors, allowed reporters to tour three UN-monitored factories near the capital yesterday. The factories are monitored by remote-control cameras, sensors and air samplers because the UN fears they could make chemical, biological or other prohibited weapons. "Of course we fear an attack, but what can we do?" said Jasfar Najem Aboud, director of the Kindi animal vaccine plant at Abu Ghraib, 19 miles west of Baghdad. As reporters roamed the sprawling plant, a team from the UN special commission (Unscm), which is charged with scrapping Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, drove up in two vehicles. They refused to speak to the press, Mr Aboud said they visited the site regularly. The factory, damaged by bombing in the 1991 Gulf war, produces 400 million doses of livestock vaccine a year. But Mr Aboud said he had received no orders about precautions against air strikes. In similar crises in the past, Iraq has removed equipment from potential targets, but Mr Aboud said the machines at the Kindi plant were too big to move easily.

At the al-Nasser factory, 37 miles north of Baghdad, reporters were shown hi-tech German lathes used to shape metal for the bodies of short-range missiles, which are permitted by the UN. The director, Aref Qadouri, said only two of an original eight lathes were in working order. Four had been cannibalised to repair other machines. Two were destroyed in the Gulf war. The factory was virtually levelled in the 1991 bombing, but Mr Qadouri said it had been quickly rebuilt and the UN put 14 cameras to guard against banned activities. Despite this, he feared the factory would be a target in any renewed bombing campaign.

The plant, he said, was still producing bodies for an indigenous missile with a range of 31 miles, but was running short of spare parts and raw materials. At the Ibn Baytar Biological Research Centre, reporters were shown two US-made fermenters. Iraq removed the machines last October, during the crisis over the expulsion of US members of the Unscm inspection teams, drawing sharp criticism from the Unscm chief Richard Butler, who feared they could be used for proscribed activities. "They are out of order already," the centre's director, Safaa Abdullatif, said. "We lack the necessary spare parts to run them."

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Wrestling a change in relations

Iran

David Hirst in Tehran

NOTHING could be more politically symbolic than the single, small Stars and Stripes suspended above the wrestling arena in Tehran as 17 international teams prepare to do battle today. In ancient times Persian warlords employed wrestlers for the symbolic, bloodless settling of disputes. But the United States team attending Iran's 17th Fajr (Dawn) International Grand Prix Wrestling Tournament, and their hosts, repeat the same official line: this is not about politics, it is simply sport. No sport commands greater reverence among Iranians, however. This tournament is named after Golestan Reza Tahkati, a champion of the Shah's time whom parents still teach their children to emulate as a model of sporting chivalry. As the freestyle competitions open today in the Azadi stadium, the US flag hangs

alongside those of Greece and Turkey, Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan. It makes a change from the more familiar sight in Tehran: the Stars and Stripes being trampled on or ceremoniously burnt. The US wrestlers are the first American sportsmen here since the Islamic revolution in 1979. They are linked, in most Iranian minds, with the latent power struggle between the liberal wing of the Islamic Republic headed by President Mohammad Khatami and the arch-conservative clerical oligarchy headed by the spiritual leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei. Unyielding hostility to the "Great Satan" remains a central pillar of the conserva-

tives' grip on power. President Khatami has mounted a serious, but as yet unsuccessful, challenge to it; he told CNN last month that he opposes "the burning of the US flag as a national symbol." "We are greatly in favour of these games," said the deputy foreign minister, Gholam Ali Khosroo, "It is our declared policy to promote exchanges in sports, culture and academia — though some may oppose that."

Conservatives make no secret that they do. The hard-line Jumbur Islamic newspaper said that the athletes' presence would be an "insult to a people whose blood still flows at criminal US hands". It called for "rivalry protests" against their coming. There have been none. This is partly, perhaps, because the authorities, anxious not to antagonise the hardliners, are giving the Americans a low-key official reception. "Any nasty incident," said a veteran journalist, "would be blown for the Khatami camp. The Ansar-e Hizbullah (conservative-controlled vigilantes) would be quite capable of staging one."

But they would be running strongly against popular sentiment if they did. The US team, basking aloft the Stars and Stripes at the opening ceremony on Tuesday, got the loudest round of applause in the march-past, louder even than the national team's. It has long been apparent that, at street level, being pro-American is a way of expressing opposition to a conservative oligarchy which still preaches "Death to America". The US wrestlers, an Iranian predicted, will unleash such sentiments. "Everyone is fed up with the reputation we've earned in the world, the assumption that Iran is a barbarous place and Americans can't walk here safely in the streets."

Tehran bus gives Khatami a lift

IRAN'S president, Mohammad Khatami, took the bus to work yesterday, joining other residents in Tehran in a "no-traffic" day aimed at improving air quality in the capital. "Passengers riding on the bus with the president

chatted with him and told him of their problems," the official news agency Irna reported. The state environmental protection agency, worried by air pollution problems, urged the city's 7 million people to leave their cars at home. — Reuters

Comment

Diary

Matthew Norman

FOLLOWING the impressive handling of Bernie Ecclestone's Elm present and the row over EMU membership, New Labour raises its gift for news management to unimaginable heights. Praise for the latest triumph goes to the Foreign Office, which hosted the meeting between Robin Cook and Salman Rushdie on Monday, after the ninth anniversary of the Ayatollah's fatwa. Tuesday was the day, of course, on which the House of Commons debated the issue of Iraq, although the meeting with Mr Rushdie was arranged some time in advance. However, a government less loftily unconcerned with presentation might have been tempted to postpone it, to avoid the neat juxtaposition of events — the one allowing the Foreign Secretary to be photographed with Islam's most celebrated foe, the other bringing him to the Dispatch Box to discuss the bombing of a Moslem country. The result has been predictable. The Moslem community is outraged, and on Friday (the religion's Sabbath), the rage will be expressed in mosques up and down the country.

INDUSTRIAL unrest escalates at the Morning Star, whose journalists are furious at the suspension of their editor by Mary Rosser, head of the family that controls the paper. They have now voted 12-8 in favour of starting an indefinite strike next Wednesday. Meanwhile, an advert has been placed in the situations vacant column of Tribune. "Journalists required," it reads. "Long established family business needs loyal comrades. Must be able to start work on Wednesday, February 25. Dynastic connections an advantage. Support for democratic centralism essential. If interested, contact Mary..." A spoof, surely?

NITIAL attempts to raise support for the Diary campaign to clear my friend Michael Winner's name (Michael, you will recall, has been barred from Le Gavroche in Mayfair for alleged rudeness to staff) run into trouble. Simon Slater, owner of Kensington Place, one of Michael's local restaurants and his one-time second home, refuses to supply a character reference. On reflection, perhaps Mr Slater was a poor choice. A few years ago, we now recall, in a survey of London restaurateurs, he answered the question "what is the most unusual request from a customer?" with the words, "The table to Michael Winner, please."

A PROTEST staged yesterday by students of the University of North London passed off peacefully. The students were protesting about the fact that they have been barred from protesting. Further protests are thought possible, until this ban is lifted.

IAM baffled by reports that the Chancellor is putting pressure on Chris Smith to introduce charges in art galleries and museums. A glance at Paul Routledge's ruthlessly impartial, hard hitting biography suggests this cannot be so. Writing of Gordon's time as student rector of Edinburgh University, Paul mentions "a century-old bequest of paintings on loan to the Scottish National Gallery". When the Heath government wanted to charge for entrance to public galleries, and although the university Court "might have turned a blind eye", it was none other than Gordon who stood firm for the right to free access. "Demonstrations involved all Scotland's leading figures in the arts world," Paul records. "The Court was embarrassed and Brown won his point."



The father of the euro is an historic figure. His companion is a eunuch

Hugo Young



RECEIVING the freedom of the City of London, he was being blessed with something between an honorary knighthood and a virtual peerage: an immensely merited award for the only European statesman still on active service. But around the event swirled consolations for those who would have preferred it not to happen. They could persuade themselves that this was the honouring of yesterday's man, whose dynastic project is, in the country to which he had come, on the wane.

In Germany, after all, his future does not look good. The German economy has ceased to be the model. Unemployment is high, growth is faltering, German social welfare is widely scorned elsewhere. The reunified territories are the seat of poverty and increasing ethnic violence. Chancellor Kohl himself, facing an election in the autumn, is in deep trouble. Many observers are backing him to lose it. The freedom of the City was perhaps a consolation prize, acceptable as such to Euro-sceptics who thirst to diminish him.

In Britain, equally, he has less resonance than he used to. A year ago, Tony Blair was being perched on his knees in the Tory election ads, but now Mr Blair has pulled out of Kohl's project, economic and monetary union, for the duration. Blair's discourse makes it ever plainer that he has become a sceptic, in the strict sense of being a doubter about whether EMU will be economically viable. Whatever happens when EMU starts, there's now no trace of a possibility that Britain will enter in the early years. The matter has been settled on to the backburner. Chairing the meeting that starts it in May, Mr Blair can be no more than a helpful

eunuch at the court of the inner Europeans. Was this, therefore, a meeting between two brands of impotence, the fading Chancellor and the self-mutilated Prime Minister? In the case of the German, that estimate would be quite false. The jibes against last night's event rest on wishful thinking. Kohl remains an extraordinary figure. When I saw him in the autumn, he exuded, at 67, fierce and jovial energy. Though he says the election campaign will be the hardest of his life — and this is a man who attended every conference of his party since 1953 — he's quite certain EMU will not lose it for him. His coalition may, of course, be beaten; though the SPD are a fragile force, feebly led, to take advantage of the CDU's manifest unpopularity. It will not be "Europe" that beats him, and this for a reason that exposes the gulf between the politics of Britain and of Germany.

It's well attested that the euro is unpopular in Germany. One poll, recording 70 per cent against, showed it to be more unpopular than it is in Britain. Kohl, the undisputed father of the euro, should therefore be in for a hammering. But he may not be. The German attitude accepts the inevitability of the euro, but shows signs of believing that the old man is the only leader to be trusted with the task of shepherding aside the beloved Deutschmark. He's the indispensable curator of his own resented creation. Far from being further proof of Germany's spineless submission to their elites, this will be construed, if Kohl wins, as the ultimate accolade for the quality he has provided on great questions for 16 years: leadership such as Britain, on the

issue of Europe, has not had since the war. His talents partly lie in the practicalities of politics. No other leader in the world can have a more detailed appreciation of the strengths and frailties of his peer-group. Whether on Capitol Hill or in the polling stations of Lower Saxony, Kohl knows the state of the count. A leader who proves inadequate in this department, like Jacques Chirac, fatally mistiming an election, is thereby lowered in his esteem.

I saw him
exuding
fierce
energy

A leader who owns the count by a massive majority, like Tony Blair, is greeted as one to whom all democratic leaders should show their respect.

But Kohl's impetus is also visionary. Along with the finer points of the Italian voting system come the lessons in history. The Chancellor's table-talk begins with the second world war and ends with German reunification. Memories of his own youth, breaking across the Franco-German border, never die. He was happy, in the early post-war days, to salute the *Friedrichs* three times for every once he saluted the German flag. Now, his visits to what was East Germany elicit his powerful sympathetic imagination for the drama of democracy, and the people who still cannot get used to what it means for them.

Such talk of history is terribly unfashionable in Britain. Its message provokes only discomfort, so much so that many

people are inclined to discount its relevance now. When he spoke of his desire to end war for ever in Europe, Kohl was decided, by more than one minister in the last British Government, as a war-monger for his very mention of the subject. It was as if these Tories believed that the bloody history of the nation state was a malign distraction from the truly serious business of maintaining the nation state, come what may, in the modern era. Last night the City, whether consciously or not, celebrated the opposite proposition. It was a rare occasion when the City showed itself wiser than the politicians. To have received the German Chancellor in this way was not only a merciful forgetting of the last war, it was a demonstration of confidence in the sort of Europe he stands for: a rare display of largeness from a British institution, in a country whose politicians, even in a government honestly dedicated to transforming relations with Europe, find such largeness frightening.

WHAT is the test by which Mr Blair might fulfil the hopes Kohl undoubtedly reposes in him? Perhaps we'll know he has passed when he goes to the House of Commons and either proposes an action, or disclaims one, for the reason that it will be good, or bad, for European unity. That would be a revolutionary moment. I don't believe any prime minister has ever done it. It's a thought too alarming to contemplate, for leaders of a country whose entire stance to the world has never been rooted, for 25 years, in belonging to Europe. But it's the challenge that Kohl, vibrantly present and far from dead, laid down yesterday.

Mouthing nonsense

Roy Hattersley



THE Government has caught a bad habit from the Zulus — testing the fire power of the enemy by sacrificing young warriors. When there are unpopular decisions to be defended, it is not the responsible minister who advances across no-man's land towards television and radio, but a young back-bencher whose reputation is regarded as expendable. Last week, a fresh-faced young man from the Home Counties was sent to explain on Newsnight why the Cabinet will not accept a competition bill amendment which explicitly outlawed predatory newspaper pricing, driving competitors out of the market by charging, for a month or two, far less than the newspaper costs to produce.

To be honest, one or two old warriors have been sacrificed too. A day after the slaughter of the innocent, Gerald Kaufman — introduced as appearing with the government's backing and blessing — popped up on the World At One to defend the Department of Culture against Labour backbencher Brian Sedgmore. The discussion got off to a bad start, with Mr Sedgmore comparing himself to Jonathan Swift. It then descended into a squabble about how often Kaufman and Sedgmore go to the theatre. But Gerald — the Grand Old Man of New Labour — has been a truly serious business of maintaining the nation state, come what may, in the modern era.

IT IS the young man from the Home Counties about whom I am concerned. As well as being sent up the line to death, he was equipped with a rifle which was programmed to fire only a single shot. He was only allowed to say that competition regulations must affect every sector of the economy equally, not be specifically designed to overcome the problems of one industry. He made the same false point so often in exactly the same words that I could easily be persuaded that he learned it by heart from a piece of paper supplied by Peter Mandelson. By behaving in that way he exposed more than the absurdity of one particular ministerial decision. He focused attention on much that is wrong with New Labour.

The idea that every item of competition policy should apply throughout the whole economy is plainly absurd. The size, the capital intensity and the strategic importance of individual industries makes monopoly more or less likely and undesirable to different degrees. Monopolies are bad in bricks, beer or bottles. But in those industries, domination by a single company is nothing like as dangerous as it would be in newspapers. That is why successive competition Acts have contained specific

clauses to prevent the concentration of media ownership, and why a variety of inquiries and commissions recommended that the powers should be strengthened. Until quite recently Labour believed that too.

It is possible that for all these years the almost universal concern to protect the freedom of the press was misplaced. Perhaps the authorities on the subject were right in their time, but times change. It would, however, be difficult to claim that the creation of the single European market has made much difference to the policy imperative. There are sectors in which we may need companies to be fewer and bigger in order to compete with the French and Germans. But no one has suggested that nationalisation of newspaper ownership is the only way to stop our newspapers being swamped with copies of *Le Monde* and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.

In fact, nobody has bothered to argue anything at all by way of serious justification for the change of policy. It is assumed that the joys of office, the demands of loyalty or the hope of patronage will be enough to guarantee parliamentary support for the sudden change of principle and judgement.

MANY New Labour critics in the party spent the years before 1994 advocating change. They welcomed the revision of Clause IV and encouraged a loosening of the trade union ties. But they understood why those reforms were necessary. It is not possible to tell men and women of conscience and conviction to take it or leave it. There is also a problem for men and women of intellectual self-confidence. They do not enjoy mouthing nonsense on instruction.

Cynics will argue that only self-indulgence prevents the acceptance of a policy change that is necessary to secure Labour's continued success but cannot be rationally justified. I have been told exactly the same about every controversial policy change — the preservation of the remaining grammar schools, the freeze on income tax, the refusal to increase benefits and the acceptance of Conservative spending plans. All those changes have been justified, if at all, by slogans.

For those of us who wanted to modernise the party 40 years ago, it is all reminiscent of one of the least quoted sagas from Hugh Gaitskelli's "fight again" speech. "What do you expect us to do?"

The stand
has to
be
made

Change our minds overnight? Refusal to change our minds over monopoly policy may not be an issue of principle to compare with unilateral nuclear disarmament. But the stand has to be made wherever the battle is joined. The change in which Labour has changed policy on predatory prices illustrates why the fight is necessary.

George Monbiot catches out the Government on the environment

Sell-out at the top

LORD Clinton-Davis, Minister at the Trade and Industry department, dispatched a furious letter to the Guardian the other day. He was outraged by an article about the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), the treaty being negotiated by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

The Guardian had argued that the MAI would lead to the regulation of governments by corporations. It would allow transnational companies to sue democratic states over legislation they found unacceptable, regardless of public interest. "I can assure your readers," Lord Clinton-Davis thundered, "that your assertions are nonsense. The MAI will weaken neither environmental regulation nor worker protection."

How charitable should we be to Lord Clinton-Davis? He has, after all, been at the DTI for only nine months. Could it be that he simply doesn't

understand what's going on? Surely he couldn't have succumbed already to the cynical synthesis of fact and fiction which has become the DTI's trademark in international negotiations?

There is, he claims, nothing to be alarmed about. "The provision for investors to take disputes with host governments to international arbitration is by no means new". Strange then, that Barbara Roche, also a DTI minister, boasted to the Commons: "It will be the first binding multinational agreement with provisions for dispute settlement."

IF there are particular matters on which an MAI party wishes to retain the right to discriminate on the basis of the nationality of the owner, Lord Clinton-Davis informs us, "that government can take an exception."

But the relevant OECD report is unequivocal. The only exceptions to the obliga-

tions permitted are those listed when adhering to the agreement. The US has requested among the fewest and least exceptions of all: unlike the US, for example, it has asked for no measures to protect local authorities from the voracity of multinationals.

So what about those claims concerning environmental regulation and worker protection which so incensed the minister? Organisations opposed to the agreement argue that it could override not only national law, but also international treaties, such as the protocol protecting the ozone layer. For 22 years, corporations in OECD countries have been expected, among other restraints, to "respect the right of their employees to be represented by trade unions" and to introduce "a system of environmental protection at the level of the enterprise as a whole". It's not hard to see how effective the guidelines have been.

Lord Clinton-Davis is not

the only DTI minister to offer blandishments in public while privately selling the country down the river. Since 1995, ministers have assured us that the agreement is a purely technical matter about stimulating investment. The department told us precisely the

This is
the new
world
order

same thing about the World Trade Agreement. Since then, the US company Monsanto has used it to force the EU to drop its ban on beef and milk treated with growth hormones, to the horror of consumers, farmers, vets and even Tory politicians.

At every level of government, the vampires are pur-

loining the keys to the blood bank. The Single European Act was conceived and nurtured not by politicians but by the European Roundtable of Industrialists. Its vice-chairman until last year was the head of BP, who complained that "industry is hampered by cumbersome rules and an increasing burden of employment regulation".

Lord Simon is now Minister for Trade in Europe at the DTI. It was he who engineered the UK's acceptance of the European Patents Directive, granting corporations exclusive rights over our genetic material.

This is the new world order, in which governments are captured and colonised by the businesses they are supposed to regulate. When it comes to a contest between the interests of the electorate to whom Lords Simon and Clinton-Davis owe nothing and the corporations on whose behalf they seem to govern, you and I don't stand a chance.

ON THE EVE

Ben Okri

There are some words best not said;
Best not said, not even to the dead,
For they feed an evil
They feed an evil monster's head.

The monster's name is war
And it keeps on craving more.
Once started, war never really ends
Once started now, a millennial shadow
descends.

Beware, beware war's savagery.
Beware of ravenous demons set free
When, on the eve of battle,
The words are whispered: WORLD WAR
THREE.

Ben Okri, February 1998. All rights reserved

Joe 11/15/50

Suffer the children

What about sanctions?

DISTRESSING evidence of how children are the real victims in Iraq, reported today by our correspondent, should make anyone pause before inflicting more pain upon the Iraqi people. Maggie O'Kane's report focuses on conditions in one medical establishment in Baghdad, and one would hardly expect conditions to be better outside the capital. In any case, her report hears out widespread evidence gathered in recent months by the aid agencies and particularly by the United Nations Children's Fund (Unicef). Though this evidence has been published it has left scarcely a scratch on the media mirror, which reflects the news from Iraq. The reports from UN weapons inspectors have received several hundred times as much coverage as those from UN doctors.

In an end-of-year analysis for 1997, Unicef summed up the situation of children and women in the areas controlled by Baghdad in these terms: "The economic and political priorities with the embargo overwhelm their needed care." That is a cautious way of saying, from a UN organisation wary of sounding at all polemical — that the embargo has taken precedence over the health of women and children. The most specific evidence concerns malnutrition — which, as Unicef says, is "a potent factor for increased mortality in young children". The data comes from a Multiple

Indicator Cluster Survey carried out through 1996, followed by two further nutritional surveys in southern and central Iraq last year. Here are some figures — chronically malnourished: 960,000 children under the age of five, a rise of 72 per cent since August 1991 (when sanctions had already been in effect for a year). This is 32 per cent of all children in this category. Almost a quarter are underweight — twice as high as in neighbouring Turkey or Jordan. Under-fives' mortality: a several fold increase. A child with diarrhoea in 1990 had a one-in-600 chance of dying; in 1996 this became one in 50. The chances of death from pneumonia rose from one in 60 to one in eight. Wasting (moderate and severe): an increase from 3.6 per cent in 1991 to 11 per cent in 1996.

And so the dreadful statistics go on. Much has been done and continues to be done by Unicef and other agencies, including successful immunisation, health education promotion and supplementary feeding programmes, improved water for 7.5 million people, and rehabilitation of schools. (Though primary school provision has fallen from a virtually universal system to less than three-quarters since 1990.) But it is wrong to suppose that any deficiencies of food or medical supplies can be blamed solely on the regime's misuse of the oil-for-food programme. The UN Secretary-General's new proposals to improve the programme already recognise many other problems, including supply delays and over-bureaucracy.

There is a more serious problem with sanctions too, which a new report from the World Vision charity published last week explores. In Iraq, NGOs have been encouraged to go into the northern areas

rather than the areas under close Baghdad control. Some chemicals for water purification have been barred from import. Examples such as these illustrate how sanctions are bound to lead to fundamental distortions of any aid programme. After six years, the utility of sanctions has become increasingly dubious both as a political break upon the regime and on humanitarian grounds. What to do with this economic weapon needs as much attention as the military weapons question. It is not getting it — while the children continue to die.

Sue for peace

Sinn Fein's smart court battle

AFTER the hullet and the ballot — the brief. The conflict in Northern Ireland shifted from the military and political theatres to the legal one yesterday, as Sinn Fein took its battle to stay in the peace talks to the Irish High Court. The party argued that its imminent election to the process violated natural and constitutional justice, urging the Dublin judges to deliver a ruling keeping Sinn Fein at the peace table. Even after all the twists and turns of this surreal saga — which has seen a British secretary of state sit down with some of the UK's most hardened terrorists inside the Maze prison — the transformation of the Ulster peace process into courtroom drama was still pretty remarkable.

Sinn Fein's argument is that it has been tried, convicted and punished without the chance to defend itself — a violation of the basic procedures of the law. Once the RUC chief constable, Ronnie Flanagan, declared that the IRA was to blame for two recent murders, the decision to remove Sinn Fein

was all but automatic, the party says — giving Gerry Adams and his men no chance to deny either IRA culpability or any Sinn Fein responsibility for the actions of the IRA.

Mr Adams says it is absurd for London and Dublin to make a decision of such moment without allowing the accused to defend themselves. They add that the RUC is hardly an impartial umpire on such matters, thanks to its historic role in "collusion and cover-up of the loyalist sectarian campaign". Moreover, to exclude Sinn Fein was to exclude the 172,500 voters they represent — none of whom have any control over the actions of the IRA.

Legal experts rated the party's chances of success close to zero. The planned election was a political decision, not a legal one, and the High Court only has jurisdiction over the Irish government — not the British authorities, nor any of the international co-chairmen who run the talks process.

Nevertheless, Sinn Fein's strategy in heading to court showed why the party's leadership are regarded as among the smartest players in Northern Ireland. If the courts were to express even a technical reservation over Sinn Fein's removal, it would be a huge propaganda victory for the party. But even if they are utterly frustrated, Sinn Fein will have made a great show of its determination to be among the peace-makers. Not long ago there was great consternation about getting Sinn Fein to come in; now they are the ones refusing to leave. In PR terms, and especially in the eyes of US opinion, the image is of one group desperate to make peace while its enemies refuse to let it. This newspaper continues to believe that, for the sake of consistency with the Mitchell principles of non-violence, Sinn Fein will have to be expelled. But the exclusion should be as

brief as possible — followed by re-admission and a concerted push for a settlement in time for the deadline in May.

Russian burps

Foreign friends suffered more

NIKITA Khrushchev's butler has decided to reveal the less attractive habits of his master — after the example of Mao Zedong's doctor, Akhmed Sattarov's memoirs are of boorish behaviour at the table with leaders from LBJ to Fidel Castro. When offered quails by the US president, we learn, Mr K ate the lemon in his finger-bowl and then tried to drink from it.

Mao's doctor impressed Chinese readers by purporting to describe in detail the chairman's sexual appetite. The Soviet leader's appetite for rough food and drink can have no such hidden appeal. It merely confirms the view of Russian intellectuals that he was simply uncultured.

Yet a longer perspective is needed to see his behaviour in proper context. (Let us also note that LBJ, whatever his table manners, was a match for Chairman Mao in sexual and sociological behaviour.) Mr Khrushchev's dining habits reflect Stalin's style, who persecuted his politburo by making them eat and booze till they were sick. Both Russians and Chinese also used heavy eating and drinking to unsettle foreign visitors. The late Milovan Djilas wrote of Stalin's menacing good humour at table as he insisted that the Yugoslav delegation drink itself stupid. Mr Sattarov now recalls how Mr Khrushchev was served by China's premier Zhou Enlai with python and white mice. On this occasion Mr K was blameless: the Sino-Soviet dispute was in the air, and this was "friendship diplomacy" with a very deliberate vengeance.

Letters to the Editor

BAT, balls and a sticky wicket

WHAT might BAT's socially acceptable addictive alternative to cigarette have been (Tobacco firms' secrets smoked out, February 16)?

I believe I know. A few years ago a number of American BAT executives appeared on television, each reciting: "Nicotine is not addictive." I found this so questionable that I wrote to BAT asking if I had heard correctly. Their doctor replied, confirming that my hearing was excellent. And she assured me that nicotine was no more addictive than ratafouille. So there we have it. Just imagine what ratafouille dependency could have done for BAT and the world's cigarette and aobergine growers. Rev David Walford, Mitcham Junction, Surrey.

IT is reported that the Dome's colossal woman, Millennium Mummy, will welcome visitors inside her tummy. Where will the entrance be, and, oh dear, where the exit? John Simmons, London.

I WAS interested to read Paul Mullay asserting that the Chelsea Football Club chairman, Ken Bates, wants to "stop ordinary working class people from supporting the club" (Letters, February 18). Given that the facilities on offer to its more well-heeled brethren include a stay at the Bates Motel I should have thought that it was the middle class supporters who had most to fear. Andy Maslin, London.

WHAT were you doing when England won the third test in Trinidad? J Critchlow, Torquay.

Pintresque war of words

MAY I supplement Harold Pinter on Iraq (Writer outraged, February 17) with a question, and with what backing, is killing Iraqi citizens inside Iraq, violating UN resolutions including those on no fly zones, and undermining the authority of the UN in Iraq? I recently returned from a three-month aid mission to northern Iraq. I travelled to all parts of the region and frequently crossed the front lines between the warring Kurdish factions.

I regularly saw Turkish tanks deep inside northern Iraq. They were supporting the KDP (previously allied with Saddam Hussein) against the PUK (supported by Iran). They were also engaging the PKK, the Kurdish faction agitating for a homeland in Turkey. And I watched Turkish planes bombing Kurdish positions daily. These actions are being mounted with the support of the Western powers, including Britain and the United States. So much for protecting Iraqi citizens from attack.

The Turkish campaign took place in and around civilian areas. UN guards were constantly asked by civilians to prevent these actions and to protect them. But UN forces admitted that they lacked the means to stop the Turkish actions or to protect local civilians. Patrick Healey, Tavistock, Devon.

DEJA VU: Mr Bates' 'suspect' Arabs in UK (February 18). When I and others protested while campaigning to free Gulf war detainees arrested without charge or due legal process in 1991, we were joined on our demonstrations by Labour MPs, including members of the current government. Where are they now? Will I again have to sit in

Pentonville prison listening to an immigration tribunal of "three wise men" asking a man who has no idea what accusation he faces: "Tell us why you are not a terrorist?" Simon Lowish, London.

AMONG the more important questions future historians will have to answer is: why has Labour, Old or New, always followed a conservative (or Conservative) foreign policy? John Saville, Hull.

IN VIEW OF the Balfour Declaration and what has followed, Britain has a responsibility to foster more understanding between the West and Arab states. A principled and even-handed (dare I say ethical) stance is needed. Could we have a "Blair Declaration" that brings peace and hope, rather than the chaos and destruction which the current adventure will surely deliver? Frank Collis, Gloucester.

THE answer to Stephen Potter's Pinter enquiry (Letters, February 18) lies in Pinter's play, *The Homecoming*. There, for censorship reasons, "chuffed to bollocks" got changed to "chuffed to his eyeballs". The knowing bowdlerism drew a laugh when I saw the play and I believe it to be a witty improvement which may make the Premier'ship of Coineages. L J Frale, London.

CHUFFED to the bollocks as I was by Harold Pinter's piece, can somebody explain why it is that only he, John Filgar and a tiny handful of porters of yaks... Mind you," he added "I'll expect you to keep its authorship confidential until well after the Reeper striles." Now that a full two days have passed since that regrettable encounter with the brewer's dray,

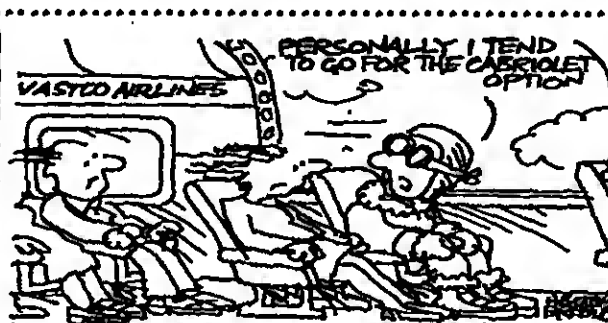
human rights abuses relevant to the debate about the targeting of Iraq? David Edwards, Bournemouth.

I WOULD like to bring to Mr Blair's attention an establishment in Port Benning, Georgia, called the School of the Americas where the United States government offers security training to personnel from South and Central American countries. Graduates have gone home to participate in the "disappearances" of people, torture and murder. Last autumn, Rev Nick Cardell, Minister of the May Memorial Church in Syracuse, New York, along with five members of his congregation, mounted a peaceful protest outside the school. They were arrested, convicted, fined \$3,000 apiece (21,900) and sent to prison for six months. Land of the free? Really? Peter Blair, London.

HOW can we threaten war to bring a ruler to the negotiating table, while refusing an elected party the right to join negotiations because of a suspicion of violence by another group? M Pepratz-Evans, Leeds.

YOU report that Robin Cook replied to Tam Dalyell's warning of the danger of bombing chemical or biological weapons stores in Iraq by saying: "We have taken great care to ensure we don't hit such weapons." But since this fracas is because Saddam Hussein won't allow inspection of possible weapons sites, how does Robin Cook know where they are? Anthony Storr, Oxford.

Please supply a full postal address. We may edit letters.



An upgrade on cattle class

ENJOYED Matthew Engel's air travel (Travel Sick, February 14). At one stage, I travelled regularly around the Far East and found Cathy Pacific easily the most pleasant airline. They had the friendliest and most helpful cabin staff. Unlike Engel, I was never offered oral sex, but then I never travelled first class. Cathy's planes were invariably half-empty. By folding down the armrests on a row of seats, I could make a smashing bed. Could airlines not take a leaf out of the car manufacturers' book? There

is a basic car, with optional extras such as electric windows, sunroof, central locking and heated seats at extra cost. You pay for what you get.

I never watch the films on planes and never eat the food (I take my own). But I would willingly pay more for extra leg-room. I generally travel with only cabin baggage. Could not those who do this gain a reduction? After all, we are reducing an airline's costs. Give the passenger a bit of choice. J M Paine, Doncaster.

Ireland, murder and hypocrisy

BETWEEN March and July last year, during the loyalist "ceasefire", six Catholics were either shot or beaten to death in Northern Ireland. Among them was a teenage girl, shot dead at her boyfriend's house. This merited hardly a mention in the British national press.

At one stage I heard David Trimble, the Ulster Unionist leader, argue for the expulsion of loyalist paramilitary representatives from the multi-party talks. Instead, throughout, the Ulster Unionist politicians commended the loyalists for observing their ceasefire so solidly. This hypocrisy was that, if a sectarian killing was not claimed by a particular

group, the loyalist ceasefire had not been breached; rather, the killing was the work of "mavericks".

It seems, however, that the Ulster Unionist leadership draws a distinction between loyalist and republican killers. Ken Maginnis describes Gerry Adams as a "murderer" (Blair urges Unionists and Sinn Fein to talk directly, January 28) with whom he will not talk directly. Yet the same Ken Maginnis has met convicted loyalist killers in the Maze and his leader sat down for talks in Portadown with the sectarian paramilitary Billy Wright. This hypocrisy is not lost on Catholics in Northern Ireland. Name and address supplied.

Message from Blair's friends

JONATHAN Freedland wonders whether black Labour supporters are feeling alienated (Blair is desperate for new friends, February 18). To hear Tony Blair praising Enoch Powell is no surprise. At last year's Labour conference there was an insulting lack of debate on racial inequality in Britain. Our people's problems were bottom of the agenda, conflated with issues of gender, sexuality and disability in the last debate of the last day. Harini Iyengar, Brasenose College, Oxford.

THINKS Jonathan Freedland missed the target in citing rising standards of attainment in maths as evidence that this Government is in a policy time warp. The Government is right to have this focus.

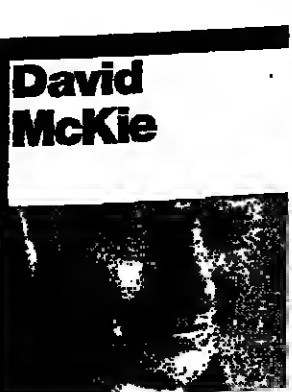
He should have used as evidence the School Standards and Framework bill hurrying through committee. Far from fulfilling the promise of co

selection by test or interview it puts "permitted selection" on the statute book. It legalises existing partial selection and allows all admission authorities (which could mean all schools) to select 10 per cent on "aptitude" if a school believes it has a "specialism". So legislation introduced by this government will allow creeping selection, introduced by the previous government, to continue. Why are Labour MPs willing to vote for such a bill? Mary Talloch, Campaign for State Education, London.

TONY Blair is not "pandering" to "decade-old prejudices" as Jonathan Freedland suggests. He is doing what Labour prime ministers have always done: trying to make capitalism work. But now there are no compromises with socialist aspirations. Getting tough on Blair might just be a step towards getting tough on the causes of Blair. Kieran Kelly, Bristol.

The Country Diary can be found on Page 10

Sorely missed



IT WAS SOMEWHERE near Crug on the Shrewsbury-Llanelli railway that I first became truly aware of the greatness of Kenneth Gundle (writes J. GUMBLE MICKLETHOUGHT, further to Monday's obituary). As I craned out of the window, I felt Gundle's hand on my shoulder. "Shouldn't do that if I were you, old chap," he told me. "You might get struck by a passing bridge."

It was all there: the rapier acuity, the warm human sentiment and that coruscating wit (a passing bridge) that so often kept us in stitches over the port in Boodle's. Ken Gundle's encompassing generosity of spirit was never more in evidence than in the tribute he paid to me for one of his most cherished projects. The famous speech at Wem in 1987, for instance, when he argued that Britain's agricultural industry could be rescued only by the mass importation of yaks, was, as he freely owned later, the fruit of one of my own ideas, ventured over port late at night in Boodle's. "Without you, Charles," he told me "that whole enterprise would have been rendered nugatory, if not indeed odious." He will be missed.

MAY I ADD to J. Gumble Micklethought's moving tribute to Kenneth Gundle (writes SERGE SUMP MP). It was

part of Gundle's greatness that he never failed to acknowledge the ideas he drew from young men of talent, of whom I had the good fortune to be one. It was no uncommon occurrence for me to receive one of those famous late-night phone calls from Boodle's, testing out ideas for some Commons intervention or constituency speech. "I can see I shan't get very far on the basis of the abject tosh that's being talked here!" he would roar with that irresistible rollicking laugh which so many sought to imitate, but with such scant success. "Be an angel, Charles, and spare me an hour or two tomorrow to draft my speech for my private member's bill on the importation of yaks!... Mind you," he added "I'll expect you to keep its authorship confidential until well after the Reeper striles." Now that a full two days have passed since that regrettable encounter with the brewer's dray,

that obligation is lifted and I feel free to correct the record at last. **IT** WAS FREQUENTLY said of Kenneth Gundle (writes JANET TROUSER, further to Monday's obituary by J. Gumble Micklethought and Serge Sump MP) that he didn't suffer fools gladly. As his secretary and closest confidante for 28 years I am happy to confirm that. Like so many truly great figures, he always seemed to have a string of inferior men, high on ambition but low on talent, clinging on to his coat tails. It was a source of deep frustration to us both that some of those who clung to his coat tails liked to claim Kennedy's personal inspirations as their own. "You would scarcely believe it!" I remember him telling me over late night ginocchi at Orso. "There are two or three people purporting to be my friends going about this capital city of ours claiming credit for my

now-famous speech on the Yak Importation Bill!" We shared a chuckle at that. I must say, since only we knew how that speech had come to be written. He had left his own text in a cab on his way home from Plumpton Races. What he said in the Commons was read from the draft I handed him as he entered the chamber. When, after the unfortunate incident with the waitress and the bottle of mayonnaise, he beat a premature retreat from public life, he wrote me a generous recommendation, describing me as "the secret of my success." It would be scant service to his memory were the balance of credit in our long and found partnership to be misrepresented by history.

THE WELL-merited tributes to the late Kenneth Gundle published in your newspaper (writes MCTAVISH KNOUT, further to tributes by J. Gumble Micklethought and others)

should not be allowed to obscure the true origins of the exciting project launched all of 35 years ago to bring the yak back to the moorlands of Britain. As KG would have been the first to emphasise, it was my own pioneering articles in the Farmer and Stockbreeder which propelled this far-reaching notion into the public palate. Gundle was among the first to congratulate me on the epic two-hour speech with which I supported the Bill — a far more telling contribution to the rewriting of agricultural history, I remember him saying, than his own. Your readers may well remember my contribution to the rally in the Royal Albert Hall which preceded that debate, in which I was cheered to the echo by hundreds of yak enthusiasts from as far apart as Tiverton and Tibet. "You made our rally!" thousands assured me later. Kenneth Gundle was also present.

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Sir George Middleton

Diplomacy the hard way

GEORGE Middleton, who has died aged 88, was a very junior in the Foreign Office and he was my immediate superior as assistant in the personnel department. He was by then a senior first secretary having been sent all over the place as a young vice consul to fill gaps in the consulates, especially in the chaotic conditions of the early 1940s. He served in Latin America, Poland, Romania, Italy and the United States. Still only a vice consul he went to the Washington embassy as a second secretary and then began to be noticed as an exceptionally active and able man. He believed in his long and varied experience as a vice consul was fundamental to his later success.



He helped to restore morale in a service whose reputation had been badly damaged by the defection of Donald MacLean and Guy Burgess

French, and later had no difficulty in learning the language of whatever country he was posted to. He became the head of the personnel department in 1949 at a time of great difficulty for the service especially when, in 1951, diplomats Donald MacLean and Guy Burgess defected to the Soviet Union. Middleton helped to restore morale in a

service whose reputation had been badly damaged. He was then sent to Tehran in 1951 as ambassador, only a few months before the crisis in Anglo-Iranian relations caused by the assassination of General Razmara, followed by the emergence of Muhammad Mossadegh as prime minister. The latter's nationalisation of oil production and the Anglo-

Iranian Oil Company led to a bitter dispute during which Middleton was for most of the time in charge of the embassy. Diplomatic relations were broken off in October 1952, and Middleton then organised the overland conveyance of the British colony to Beirut, bringing up the rear with his dog. He went to New Delhi next as deputy high commissioner, and thence to Beirut as Ambassador in 1954. Anti-British activity developed there in the wake of President Nasser's nationalisation of the Suez Canal and the subsequent Anglo-French armed intervention in Egypt. By the time Middleton left Beirut in 1959 the situation had been at least temporarily stabilised by the landing of American troops in the Lebanon and British troops in Jordan at the request of the two governments. He was then posted as political resident to Bahrain, where the British still ruled

the roost — and where he had a relatively untroubled tour. Three years at Buenos Aires followed before his final appointment to Cairo. George Middleton was energetic, practical, tough, resilient and capable, with an attractive personality. In his very active retirement his jobs included work with Michael Rice Ltd, the public relations firm which advises a number of Middle Eastern governments, and also chaired the British Roads Federation for a time. His first wife was Australian and his second French. He spent much of his later years of retirement in France, where he and his wife lived very happily. From his very happy second marriage he had one son and he also had two stepchildren.

Alan Campbell
George Humphrey Middleton, diplomat, born January 21, 1910; died February 12, 1998

Nick Webb

Sweet sound of success

HARDLINE jazz fans aren't generally admirers of the easy-listening soft-fusion guitar music of the internationally successful British duo Acoustic Alchemy or for that matter the more sophisticated and improvisational style of American guitarist Pat Metheny, with which it had close links — but this lyrical and accessible group almost certainly drew many casual listeners to at least the borders of jazz, and it became one of the American GRP label's biggest sellers. No British jazz ensemble has outsold Acoustic Alchemy in America, where six-figure sales for the band's albums became routine, and it was nominated for Grammy awards twice. Its breezy style, pretty tunes and references to flamenco, reggae and folk music made it perfect for the California market, particularly where the enthusiasm of fans bordered on obsession.

Nick Webb, the band's charismatic co-founder, who has died of pancreatic cancer aged 43, was completing work on the group's 10th album, and despite diagnosis of his illness last year, kept up with Acoustic Alchemy's commitments. Greg Carmichael, his partner in the duo, maintains that over the past year Webb was writing some of his most engaging music since the group was formed. Unlike many jazz musicians, but appropriately for the feeling the band conveyed, Webb came up through pop and folk songwriting, though for a while acting vied with music in his ambitions, early work as a child performer — he was in Tony Hancock's *The Fun and the Funky Man* — eventually leading Webb to a drama course at the London Academy of Music and Dramatic Art. His first musical loves were the Beatles and Bob Dylan, after the family moved from the open countryside of Berkshire during his school years, and for a time Webb ran a Berkshire folk club as a teenager and performed as a folk singer-guitarist.

He soon realised he was being drawn increasingly towards instrumental music, became fascinated by jazz, and enrolled on the new jazz course at Leeds College of Music. A few years of struggle with wine-bar gigs and attempts to break through as a pop songwriter culminated in the formation of Acoustic Alchemy with classical guitarist Simon James in

the early 1980s. The chemistry quickly worked, and inspired Webb's writing, but British audiences were slow to respond. Webb and James founded their own record label to release their first pieces, and then when jazz guitarist Greg Carmichael replaced James, the two set out for the United States and a search for a record deal, paying their way by providing live inflight entertainment for the newly formed Virgin Airlines. A charming but single-minded man with an unshakable energy, Webb was proof against discouragement, and he camped outside record company offices until MCA eventually signed the band in 1987.

After a switch to GRP, a



Webb... 10 albums

label specialising in bridge-building between jazz and funk, Acoustic Alchemy built big audiences in Japan and in Europe as well as the US, and was from time to time joined by such jazz luminaries as pianist Rainer Bruninghaus and trumpeter Randy Brecker. The band's American success was built on the existence of an "adult contemporary radio" niche in the US that doesn't exist here, though Webb always had hopes the British market for his work would broaden. Never a jazz ensemble in the open improvisational sense, Acoustic Alchemy was nevertheless a group that sensitively, and shrewdly, used the mannerisms and modalities of jazz, and many other musics, in an instrumental pop context — and Nick Webb was its personable front-man onstage, his musical driving force from the earliest days, and its strategic planner. He is survived by his wife Kay and daughter Alexandra.

John Fordham

Nicholas Webb, musician, born 1954; died February 5, 1998

Chris Philip

The inquisitive plantsman

IF CHRIS Philip, who has died aged 69, put his mind to it, the impossible was never meat and drink to him. He operated on the simple, perfectly directed principle that if he was interested, he would give his full attention. The moment he was bored, he moved on. Whatever he turned to — and he had several careers — always began from the practical. *The Plant Finder*, the gardener's bible, was born from irritation at garden centres which rarely stock more than a fraction of the plants featured in magazines and on television.

The six acres of Worcestershire property to which he and his life-long partner Deryn Guérault retired some 34 years ago offered potential for the unusual. So Chris Philip armed himself with the Hardy Plant Society's list of 2,000 plants and wrote to every nursery he could find in this country to discover who grew what. In 1987 the first edition of 10,000 copies, which sold out in a few months, listed some 20,000 plants: the current edition has 70,000. The clever touch was to invite Tony Lord to join as taxonomic editor, so raising the book's status as a field catalogue to become the most accurate, up to date source of plant information, sold round the world.

The Plant Finder was Chris Philip's second publishing success: his first was the unpromisingly titled *Bibliography of Fireworks* Books. This started from his

own collection, gathered during his years running FestiFireworks.

School was Oundle, Royal Air Force national service was spent in the mapping section — a nice irony as the family firm was George Philip and Son, purveyors of atlases to every schoolchild in the British Empire — after which he briefly joined the RAF's national service. At 24, after two weeks training, he was put in charge of transmissions for the launch of ATV, one of the first independent television companies. His calm under the precarious conditions of new technology was legendary. When ATV boss Lew Grade rang in the instant the screen went blank after the first ever live transmission of *Hamlet*, Philip told him, "Yes, there is a technical problem — and if you got off the bloody line, then I'll be able to fix it." Grade didn't think that tone from anyone else.

Chris Philip's grandfather, Sir Maurice Jenks, was Lord Mayor of London and the illustrated London News reported that Master Philip was very much at home entertaining the King and Queen on a visit to the Mansion House. He was the perfect host at a party for 1,500 fellow three-year olds.

After ATV he freelanced as the first agent to specialise in television work. And then came the fireworks where Chris Philip was happy at home with a book, listening to his favourite Richard

Chris Philip... his hugely successful book *The Plant Finder* is now also available in a CD-Rom version

Strauss — cocktail parties were his idea of hell — he could nevertheless create extravaganzas of light and music. These included the show before Buckingham Palace to celebrate the Queen's silver jubilee in 1977 and the Edinburgh Festival display. It started very simply one holiday in Malta when he was seduced by the local fireworks, which were of a far higher quality than anything he had seen in Britain. A new idea started to bubble. What fun he then had when

the British Health and Safety Executive banned the import of these Maltese wonders because they contained unsafe mixtures. Philip set to with full scientific paraphernalia to prove that British mixtures had been using the same ingredients in fireworks passed as safe for the past 100 years. He got his licence.

But the simple, logical *Plant Finder*, which has revolutionised gardening, is his lasting legacy. Its very success meant that Deryn did most of the practical gardening while Chris worked at

the computer screen. Some years ago, after problems with his eyesight, he handed the book over to the Royal Horticultural Society. When the eyes got better, he started *The Plant Finder Reference Library* CD-Rom which extends the range of information with many of the world's most important horticultural databases. How cruel, that his final illness should have been a brain tumour, which stole his concentration and his application.

Where once it might have taken 20 years to track down

a plant, it now takes some 20 seconds. Last month the Royal Horticultural Society awarded him the Gold Veitch Memorial Medal for Outstanding Achievement in the Improvement of the Science of Horticulture. But he wasn't interested in those kind of rewards: "Not too bad" was the best he would give himself.

Natalie Wheen

Michael Christopher Philip, book editor, born September 7, 1928; died January 10, 1998

William Lambert

Sleuths and scoops

IN May 1969 Abe Fortas, close friend and counsel of former President Lyndon Johnson, became the first Supreme Court justice in American history to resign under threat of impeachment for corruption. The resignation followed disclosure, in a Life magazine article by William Lambert, who has died aged 78, that Fortas had received a \$20,000 fee from a financier, Lewis Wolfson, later indicted and jailed for a

swindle. Fortas maintained that the fee was routine payment for his services as a trustee of Wolfson's foundation. But the American Bar Association, in an informal opinion, disagreed.

The revelation brought Lambert the second Pulitzer prize, the highest American award for journalism. Lambert, an investigative journalist who worked meticulously through court records and other official doc-

uments, showed how effective carefree, established disclosure can be in rooting out corruption at the highest levels of the judicial system, the Congress and trade unions.

In October 1969 Life published another article by him, alleging that the office of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, John W. McCormack, had been used by Martin Schweig and Nathan M. Volosben for years as a base for corrupt transactions.

Lambert alleged that with the full knowledge of Swiss, who worked for McCormack for 24 years, Volosben "made free use of the official prestige, including the name, the stationery, the chair, the telephone, of McCormack". Lambert further said that he and his colleagues at Life had uncovered "dozens of fixed cases, near fixes, and plain shakedowns" carried out by Volosben, a New York lawyer, from the Speaker's office.

That wasn't Lambert's first coup, either. In 1956 he and a colleague, Wallace Turner, published a five-part series in the Portland Oregonian on corruption in the Teamsters' union. They showed how the Teamsters, under their lead-

ers Dave Beck and Jimmy Hoffa, had embezzled union funds, rigged elections, used threats to enforce demands against employers and union members, and fixed "sweetheart" contracts, unfavourable to employees, for which union officials were rewarded by management.

Their revelations led to the setting up in 1957 of what became known as the Senate's labour management committee. Lambert and Turner gave evidence at the opening session of what became three-year hearings. The result was the expulsion of the Teamsters from the AFL-CIO — the American equivalent of the TUC — and to extensive reforms.

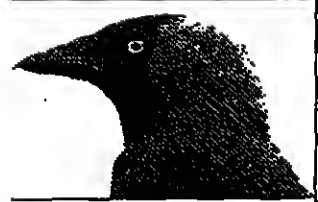
In 1959 Lambert left the Oregonian and joined a Harvard fellowship for journalists. He joined the Philadelphia Inquirer, retiring in 1985. He then used his knowledge of court procedure and libel law to advise newspapers being sued for libel. The inquirer's editor, Gene Roberts, said that Lambert was "the modern-day father of investigative journalism".

He is survived by his wife, two daughters, four grandchildren and two great-grandchildren.

Geoffrey Hodgson

William Lambert, journalist, born 1919; died February 6, 1998

Jackdaw



Bondage bride

"PHIONNA and Bunny have asked to be here tonight not only to celebrate the fetish scene they love so much but also to celebrate their union as a partnership of master and slave through their marriage. It is obvious to those of us who know them that the love they feel is overwhelming."

"As members of the fetish club scene they not only provide a flamboyance in their costumes but a true sense of what submission and domination means. Phionna and Bunny have expressed their wish to celebrate their union with their friends who

understand the longing to fulfil the large parts of their lives that are tuned into the fetish scene which largely goes unrecognised by the society in which they live. By doing this they express to others that they are a part of a community which has a longing to survive as well as a right to survive.

"Through holding a marriage ceremony that truly recognises an overpowering need to be allowed freedom of choice, they not only commit themselves to each other but also to a democratic cause through consensual self-expression. From this moment on I have no doubts that Phionna and Bunny intend to live a life full of self-expression."

Here is what Phionna said at the ceremony: "I, Phionna, take you, Bunny, to be my slave. I promise to love and cherish you, respect our union as master and slave and I promise to make you obey me for the rest of our life."

Newly launched Scottish magazine *I do goes to a fetish wedding*.

Royalties flush

THE last year or so has seen some fairly sorry attempts to cash in on the name of Roswell, New Mexico, but by far the worst has come from the town's mayor, Tom Jennings. Jennings has been approached by a Los Angeles licensing company which has offered to officially register "Roswell, New Mexico" as an international trademark. If the plan comes to fruition, any mention of Roswell in a book, film, comic or scurrilous gossip column will mean a royalty payment to the town.

From the Fortean Times.

London losers

WHAT really gets up the bum, up the nose of those north of Watford is that while Londoners go on as if London is the Top Dog, the Bee's Bollocks, everyone else knows that London football is crap. Oh yes. Bring out your facts. Make sure you have a big enough trolley. Since 1892 a London team has won the league title (First Division

and then Premier) only 13 times. Pretty useless when you realise London has always been up to two times the size of most other cities. Liverpool has about a twentieth the population of London — yet it has won twice as many league titles. I mean Liverpool as a city, counting both teams. London has around a dozen professional teams, depending on where you draw the boundaries. Yet only Arsenal with 10, Spurs with two and Chelsea with one, have managed the league title. Pathetic. All that money, all that catchment area, all that glamour. In bars, prisons, clubs and senior common rooms they are discussing this anomaly. *The New Statesman's* *Hunter Darts on the north south divide*.

Jackdaw wants jewels. E-mail jackdaw@guardian.co.uk; fax 0171-713 4368; write Jackdaw, The Guardian, 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER.

Hannah Pool

A Country Diary

ACHVANEAN: The 16 geese in the paddock — mixed Embden and Toulouse — have been bilge-herred for the last two weeks or so with the ganders hissing at each other and occasionally mating with the geese on the larger of the two ponds. Then late one afternoon it seemed that the ganders had sorted out who was dominant as they were arguing as to who was going into which of the four hutsches and which goose would end up with which gander. All very time-consuming but they have to be closed up for the night because of the constant presence of foxes in the strath. Then one afternoon on the last day of January one of the Embden geese — a pure white bird — was sitting in a nest in a clump of rushes between the two ponds and she was throwing nest lining around with vigorous shakes of the head and neck. When I called all the ducks and geese up for their daily bread she came off the nest. I walked down and,

excitedly, picked up the first goose egg of the year, nearly a week earlier than last year, and I had simply forgotten how big they are! Three more goose eggs followed in the next few days, but they were all laid overnight in one of the hutches with so far no attempt to make a nest. After months without a goose egg they were like nectar, whether boiled or fried for breakfast or lunch. Meanwhile one of the Khaki Campbells which we hatched to an incubator last year has turned out to be just like a pure bred drake mallard as far as the colour of its plumage is concerned. Presumably this is a throw-back as this breed of duck — profligate egg layers — are hybrids between mallard, fawn and white runners and rovers. However my favourites are still the white Indian runners; they make me smile every time I see them walking, as they have such an upright stance that they look comical.

RAY COLLIER

Birthdays

Prince Andrew, Duke of York, 36; Justin Tashanu, footballer, 37; John Frowman, former MP, diplomat, interviewer and chairman, London Weekend Television, 63; Andrew Jameson, swimmer, 33; Hana Mandlikova, tennis player, 36; Prof Bernard Meadows, sculptor, 83; Dr Alan J. Munro, master, Christ's College, Cambridge, 59; Erin Fitzey, battered wives campaigner, 59; Smokey Robinson, singer, 58; Erin Shapiro, writer and campaigner, 59; Gwen Taylor, actress, 59; Brian Tesler, former deputy chairman, LWT, 65; Jenny Tonge, Lib Dem MP, 57.

Letter

Lionel Burman writes: For a few years several decades ago Tom Huxton (obituary February 10) and I were colleagues on a national art education council. He invigorated the debates and practice of art education with his belief that an education in the arts is a fundamental element in learning. However grievously this tradition has been sabotaged, Tom's inspiring example, experienced by generations of students, gives us hope that we shall see the end of today's educational policies, and their consequences in a population of highly skilled, but culturally impoverished, barbarians.

CORRECTIONS AND CLARIFICATIONS

A REPORT headed, Chelsea fans face huge price hike, Page 25, February 17, directly quoted David Mellor as saying, "It would not be appropriate to comment on Chelsea matters." Mr Mellor did not say that; neither did he speak directly to the journalist concerned. We apologise to Mr Mellor, particularly since a letter published yesterday, responding to the report, not unnaturally assumed he had said it.

AN ARTICLE headed On the game — but not for a laugh, Page 8, G2, February 17, contained the incorrect assertion that Caroline Boswell was an old girl of Malvern College. She was never at Malvern College. She attended an entirely separate and unconnected establishment called Malvern Girls' College.

THE PROGRESSIVE boarding school attended by Charlotte Coleman, Page G2, February 18, was Dartington, not Darlington.

IN A report on Page 15, February 12, headed Hashish curbers pay price, we named two individuals as "the only English women jailed in Morocco". Prisoners Abroad (0171 833 3487), which supports British nationals in prisons overseas, says it has "four female clients" in prison in Morocco. It has about 1,500 clients, representing about two thirds of the British nationals in prison around the world.

IN THE obituary for Haroun Tazief, Page 14, February 10, we referred to the Belgian

Congo (now Zaire). It is not now Zaire. It is the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

A REPORT on Page 3, February 16, wrongly gave the impression that Bartok left his *Concerto* unfinished. He completed it, but he did not finish his 3rd Piano Concerto and his Viola Concerto.

AN ARTICLE in G2, Page 2, February 13, referred to someone "stretched out on a wrack". The machinery for stretching limbs was rack and the people stretched on it were racked with pain. Rack is seaweed.

It is the policy of the Guardian to correct errors as soon as possible. Readers may contact the office of the Readers' Editor, Ian Mayes, by telephoning 0171 239 5695 between 11am and 5pm, Monday to Friday. Fax: 0171 239 4697. E-mail: reader@guardian.co.uk

Death Notices

ORANFIELD, Richard, (Architect), died tragically aged 50 years. Funeral service to be held at All Saints Church, Thursday, 19th February, 11.00am. Burial at St. John's, Kensal Green. Friends may call at home, 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER. Telephone: 0171 713 4368.

In Memoriam

JARMAN, Derek, for our time he is passing of a great man, and our lives will run like spirits through the stable. 8170 place your announcement telephone 0171 713 4368 between 11am and 5pm Mon-Fri.

JP 11/150

feet sound
success

John Adams

Analysis Medical research



Fierce and jovial energy
8

Why do health news stories make us so anxious? Because of the huge gulf between science and media. By **David Rowan** and **Owen Bowcott**

The spin doctors



IT CAN be an unhealthy business these days to follow the news too closely. The least you are likely to suffer is stress and sudden behavioural changes. And that is just from the reports of medical warnings and breakthroughs.

Take yesterday's two prominent items of medical research, both geared to set blood-pressure levels rising and anxiety taking hold. Women who drink more than three glasses of wine a day are 41 per cent more likely to get breast cancer than teetotalers, according to reports sourced to the Journal of the American Medical Association. Not all newspapers chose to add the qualifications that the risk seemed to fall after a certain amount. Then there was the warning that "sunscreen may increase the risk of getting skin cancer". This worry was based on research presented to the American Association for the Advancement of Science. The qualification "may" did not prevent the findings making alarmist headlines.

may have recalled earlier stories, again based on respectable medical sources, suggesting that a certain amount of red wine could protect the cardiovascular system — and that sunscreen was an obligatory defence against skin cancer. Were sunscreen and wine, then, good or bad?

The trouble is, scientific research does not look for "good" or "bad". The mainstream media, on the other hand, like to present certainties and breakthroughs, and quickly and concisely at that. And it is through the media that the public gets much of its scientific knowledge.

"It's an irreconcilable gulf," says Dr Tom Wilkie, who for 10 years was the independent science editor and now works in the Medicine in Society project at the Wellcome Trust, the medical research charity. "Newspapers give you medical research as if it was Wagner with the sublime moments, but the long boring half-hours left out. How then do you show people the half-hours?"

The result, Wilkie says, is that news coverage can present



research findings as an unrealistic and misleading series of self-contained certainties. "The number of people who stand up on the lab bench and shout Eureka! is severely limited. Science is not a series of breakthroughs, where suddenly people discover that the Earth goes round the Sun. It's actually a slow process of information unfolding. It may take a long time, and some findings may be contradictory. Yet newspapers need to be about 'now' about specific events and 'discoveries'."

Since then researchers from Northwestern University Medical School have found that resveratrol is a form of oestrogen which has a benevolent effect on cholesterol. And then came yesterday's report from the US (which did not distinguish between wine and other forms of alcohol) warning that heavy drinking might increase the risk of breast cancer. Oestrogen, it said, might be triggering the disease. Readers, understandably, may have been left slightly perplexed about how many glasses a day constitute a safe intake.

PROFESSOR Dorothy Nelkin, a sociologist at New York University, explored the mismatch between science and media in her book *Selling Science: How the Press Covers Science and Technology* (Wiley Freeman). She sees the reporting of the new alcohol research this week as par for the course. "The alcohol study was confusing even to a well-educated reader — you're told one minute that a few glasses of red wine a day are good for your heart, and the next that they're bad in terms of cancer."

"The press have to educate the public to be a bit sceptical, to understand the process of science. The public is now given no perspective — there's a front-page news story of a 'breakthrough', and then a later retraction is hidden away on page 14 if covered at all. And that word, 'breakthrough' — it's just a media word, that the scientists are now using."

Nelkin identifies a problem not only with the way research is reported, but with the way scientists themselves and their institutions deal with the media. "The institutions have become very adept at packaging press releases. Scientists these days feel that media coverage is very important in helping them gain funds, so they're prone to exaggerate the importance of their results, and make definitive claims when they cannot be justified."

David Pendlebury, research analyst at the Institute for Scientific Information, in Philadelphia, also puts some of the responsibility at the learned journals' door. "The leading journals are not total innocents in the way they deal with journalists. They're incoherent enterprises, they like having their papers featured, and they're highly competitive: if they're cited in the press it's a signal to other researchers that that's where they ought to send their papers... effect (of the reporting) is to undermine confidence in the reliability of science: when you're told you can eat as many cheeseburgers as you want, and then that you mustn't eat cheeseburgers, you're going to ask what these people in the lab are up to."

It is not as if the mainstream news media are limited in their choice of scientific research to cover. The Wellcome Trust runs a Research Outputs Database of biomedical findings, which monitors "articles, notes and reviews published in the UK. It records about 30,000 papers published a year. The UK excels in such research, with about 9 per cent of all world biomedical publications, second only to the US (43 per cent)." So why do so few of them make it to the mainstream media?

Partly it is because of daily pressures on journalists to turn stories around quickly. "British newspapers are less well-staffed and have tighter deadlines than their US counterparts," says Tom Wilkie, "so having access to information that's easy to turn around quickly is at a premium." The journals do all they can to help: some in the US have even begun producing video-clip press releases for the TV news.

The temptation, naturally, for journal and journalist, is to focus on the research that "makes a noise". "The results which claim an effect will be published; the results which report a null effect, with no consequences, tend not to be," says Wilkie. "It's easier to write a story that says there is a gene. Yet subsequent studies that did not find such an effect have not been published in high-profile journals, or picked up by journalists like the 'gay gene' story did when it first appeared in Science."

Then there are the benefits publicity can bring to those commissioning the research. Cancer charities, for instance, need to raise awareness (and, indeed, funds), which news coverage can deliver. Yet they also need to assure their own scientists that their work will not be misrepresented in media releases. Professor Gordon McVie, director-general of the Cancer Research Campaign, talks of a "balance" that must be struck. "Too much publicity can raise expectations too far," he says. "The campaign's communications department considers the 'transmissibility' of research, and the concerns of the 150 scientists who work for it, before releasing any of it."

The lesson seems to be that it may not always prove entirely wise to reconstruct one's life on the basis of one or two research papers reported in the mainstream media. Knowledge keeps moving, in its backwards-and-forwards way, and all we do know for certain is that life, eventually, is bound to be fatal.

In the meantime, take some final heed from Tom Wilkie's carefully worded message: "It may not necessarily always be inaccurate to convey to the public the idea that scientists don't have the answers. A lot of it is asking questions and getting partial answers. Not providing a definite statement — 'red wine is good for you' — may actually be an accurate way of conveying their knowledge."

How to make the news

The diagram shows how a research paper is accepted, reviewed, and then published in a journal. It also shows how a paper is accepted, reviewed, and then published in a journal.



From the sublime...

What was hot among scientists in 1997? These were the top 10 medical research papers most cited by other researchers last year — in the field of what was 'hot' in the scientific community. They may not be fully as relevant as you think.

- 1. Prevention of apoptosis by Bcl-2: Release of cytochrome c from mitochondria blocks... *Science*, 271.297, 56 citations
- 2. The release of cytochrome c from mitochondria: a primary site for Bcl-2 regulation of apoptosis... *Science*, 271.297, 55 citations
- 3. Direct regulation of the Akt proto-oncogene product by phosphatidylinositol 3-OH kinase... *Science*, 271.297, 54 citations
- 4. Autocrine/paracrine pathways: A role for the transforming growth factor- β 1 in the regulation of cell growth... *Nature*, 385.141, 47 citations
- 5. Association of BRCA1 with P53 in mitotic and apoptotic cells... *Cell*, 94.157, 46 citations
- 6. The release of cytochrome c from mitochondria: a primary site for Bcl-2 regulation of apoptosis... *Science*, 271.297, 55 citations
- 7. The release of cytochrome c from mitochondria: a primary site for Bcl-2 regulation of apoptosis... *Science*, 271.297, 55 citations
- 8. The release of cytochrome c from mitochondria: a primary site for Bcl-2 regulation of apoptosis... *Science*, 271.297, 55 citations
- 9. The release of cytochrome c from mitochondria: a primary site for Bcl-2 regulation of apoptosis... *Science*, 271.297, 55 citations
- 10. The release of cytochrome c from mitochondria: a primary site for Bcl-2 regulation of apoptosis... *Science*, 271.297, 55 citations

...to the soundbite

You won't find many of these papers in the headlines. The Guardian's own research and reporting last year showed that health-related stories were more commonly covered in the British press in the last year.

330
Cancer risks
Genetics
Drinking, smoking and drinking

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A Thomas the Tank Engine balloon is test flown in London before going on a world tour to launch more episodes of the Britt Allcroft Company's TV series. PHOTOGRAPH: PETER JORDAN

Eddie George reappointed

Larry Elliott and Mark Atkinson

EDDIE George was left at the helm of the new Bank of England yesterday when the Government announced his reappointment as Governor for a further five years.

Ending months of speculation that he might be replaced, the Prime Minister granted the 59-year-old a second term which will stretch beyond the next election and possibly embrace the UK's membership of the single European currency.

The Bank's remuneration committee will now meet to recommend his salary, which has been frozen at £227,000 since 1993 at his own request in order to show his commitment to price stability.

At a time when both the Bank and the Treasury are concerned about a pay explosion, Mr George's new salary is certain to be closely scrutinised.

Chancellor Gordon Brown proposed Mr George's reappointment to Tony Blair and last night a senior Treasury source said: "He was the best candidate for the job."

The Prime Minister's official spokesman said: "He is

somebody who commands respect in government, respect in the City. He has done the job extremely well and will continue to do so."

The announcement was coupled with a revamp of the Bank's ruling body, the court, to make it more representative of the regions, industry and consumers.

Out of City establishment figures Sir David Scholey and Sir John Hall and in come trade union leader Bill Morris and consumer champion Sheila McKechnie, as well as businessmen from Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales.

Mr George, who has been at the Bank since 1992, paid tribute to the outgoing directors, adding: "I am of course very pleased to have been invited to serve as Governor for the next five years, which will give me the opportunity to carry through the very positive changes now being made to the role and structure of the Bank."

The Government has drastically changed the nature of the Bank's job since it was elected last May, giving it day-to-day control over interest rates but removing supervision of the City to the new Financial Services Authority.

The loss of banking supervision led to a marked deterioration in relations between

the Bank and the Treasury, with Mr George publicly admitting that he had contemplated resignation.

However, relations are said to have improved in recent months and the claims of rival candidates — Gavyn Davies, of Goldman Sachs, Barclays chief executive Martin Taylor and the Bank's new deputy governor-designate Mervyn King — have faded into the background.

Armed with his fresh mandate, Mr George will be at the Chancellor's side at this week's meeting of Group of Seven finance ministers and central bank governors in London, where the main talking point will be the impact on the world economy of the Asian crisis and the steps necessary to prevent a recurrence of the turbulence.

Despite his well-known reservations about economic and monetary union, Mr George will now carry far more clout in the discussions on EMU during Britain's six-month presidency of the European Union than he would have as a lame-duck Governor.

The City was relieved that there had been no change. Analysts said Mr Brown would have sent the wrong message to the markets had he decided Mr George should be a one-term Governor.

Chancellor ensures the regions will have friends at court

Mark Atkinson and Larry Elliott

WITHOUT changing the Old Lady's 304-year-old name, Gordon Brown yesterday set about transforming the Bank of England into a Bank of Britain.

The Chancellor's concern that the Bank's governing body was too narrowly drawn from a City establishment with Conservative leanings was reflected in the names of those who have been given seats around the table at Threadneedle Street's elegant Court Room.

A senior Treasury source said: "The court will now be much more diverse and in touch with industry, business, consumer interests and the regions. We have appointed people who will be keen to be part of the bank's evolving role."

The Bank, which was



convinced about the appointments, said it was happy with the new line-up, although it stressed that the current membership came from companies as diverse as EMI, Tarmac, Unipart and GKN.

Bill Morris (pictured), aged 59, will become the first trade unionist on the court since Gavin Laird, and its first-ever black member.

Other newcomers: Sheila McKechnie, aged 49, is di-

rector of the Consumers' Association; Jim Stretton, aged 54, is chief executive of Edinburgh-based Standard Life Assurance and a vociferous supporter of the principle of mutualism; Roy Baillie, also aged 54, is chairman of the printer W&G Baird Holdings and boss of the Northern Ireland Tourist Board, while Graham Hawker, aged 50, is chief executive of Welsh water and electricity group Ryder.

Notebook

The value of a veteran at Bank



Edited by Alex Brummer

WITH the reappointment of Eddie George to a second five-year term as Governor and a new look court — the governing body of the Bank of England — Chancellor Gordon Brown's radical overhaul on Threadneedle Street is over. Clearly, the structural forms have been critical, notably the grant of operational independence and the transfer of banking supervision to the Financial Services Authority. But in many ways the most difficult decision has been what to do about Eddie.

Culturally, the Chancellor, the radical son of the Scottish manse, and Eddie, the consummate Bank of England insider, are very different people, their personalities forged in a different generation. The perceived treachery of the Ken and Eddie show in the previous government and the hurt feelings on Threadneedle Street over the clumsy handling of the transfer of bank regulation by the Treasury also opened a gulf of trust between the two men.

So it is to the credit of Brown/Blair that they have recognised the value of a veteran at the Bank, as there is at the Federal Reserve and the Bundesbank, in an age when financial markets can drive even the best planned economic strategy off course. When the South-east Asian economies went haywire last autumn, Mr George's experience was invaluable to the new team at the Treasury. Despite the current buoyancy of equity markets on both sides of the Atlantic, there may well be more storms ahead as the IMF struggles with President Suharto and others in East Asia and 11 of Britain's European partners move ahead in a single currency.

What Mr Brown has done to drive cultural change at the Bank, however, has been to invent a rainbow coalition for the court to include a black and a trades unionist (the same person), a consumer advocate in Sheila McKechnie, and representatives of the regions — creating, at last, a Bank of Great Britain. Mr Brown turned to a Welsh utility flyder, in the shape of its chief executive, Graham Hawker, for Cardiff's input. Labour always had favoured the utilities as bases of regional economic power, despite their image being tarnished by greed under the Tories and their independence threatened by overseas takeovers. The objective of the court makeover is to democratise and bring an end to the cosy concept of a Court dominated by a City establishment.

The reality is, of course, that the court, while providing useful checks and balances, will be relatively less powerful than the Monetary

Policy Committee. If and when Britain joins monetary union the MPC will almost certainly fade away. But, until then, the MPC with its finger on the base rate button — not the court — will impact on the lives of everyone in Britain.

Astec precedent

SOME of the basic assumptions about the similarities between American and British-style capitalism are being tested in the current tussle by US majority shareholders Emerson for full control of the £389 million British power-pack group Astec (BSR), which may yet end up in the courts. Emerson, advised by the City's most exclusive house, Cazenove, has decided that, as majority shareholder in Astec, with 51.1 per cent, it is entitled to pick up the remaining shares at or near the current market price. In other words, there will be no takeover premium.

A leading group of institutions, led by Clerical Medical and Royal Sun Alliance, had made it clear that it regards this a bit of effrontery: UK institutions are so used to being bribed into submission in takeover situations that they have come to expect a premium as of right. Emerson, however, are determined to play hardball. As owners of more than 51 per cent of the shares they plan to replace the existing Astec directors with their own nominees and punish the minority for their non-cooperation by slashing the dividend. Very un-British.

So unusual, in fact, that the institutions have been dusting off copies of the 1985 Companies Act, with a view to invoking clause 459 which is there, in their view, to protect members — that is shareholders — against "unfair prejudice". The British way out of this would be compromise. The Americans, used as they are to a legalistic approach to mergers, quite fancy the fight which, if it were to take place, would set a precedent as far as the treatment of a rump of shareholders are concerned.

An intriguing possibility, which even Emerson adviser Cazenove seems to relish.

Still in the dark

THE City may not relish this more legalistic approach to corporate affairs, but it may be necessary if more transparency is to be injected into the marketplace. The stark announcement last night that merger talks between SBC Warburg and Christie's International had ended as murky as they began on December 10, is not a great advertisement for SBC Warburg or the City referee, the Takeover Panel. Warburg never really came clean as to who they were representing or what their game was in laying siege to Christie's. The Takeover Panel did nothing to smoke them out. The consequence has been a period when the majority of shareholders (with the exception of Joe Lewis, with 30 per cent) have been in the dark. Plus ça change.

First Hong Kong budget will keep dollar peg 'at any cost'

Andrew Higgins in Hong Kong

HONG KONG yesterday unveiled its first budget since the end of British rule last July and vowed to remain tethered to the American dollar, no matter what the cost.

Presented for the first time in Cantonese, the budget won plaudits from tycoons for its cuts in corporate taxes and duties on property and stock transactions but was criticised by activists, who said it ignored those vulnerable to Asia's financial downturn. The stock market rose 4.3 per cent.

Financial secretary Donald Tsang, predicting growth of 3.5 per cent, down from more than 5 per cent last year, said that a fixed link between the Hong Kong and US dollars must be maintained.

"The uncertainty and disturbance that would be caused by

a change in our exchange-rate regime could destroy public confidence in the monetary system," he told the Provisional Legislative Council.

The high interest rates needed to fend off speculators and defend the dollar peg are squeezing many firms, particularly property developers. Hong Kong's economic concerns have eclipsed political worries aroused by the handover. According to a poll released yesterday by Hong Kong University, 80 per cent, feel economic conditions have worsened since Britain pulled out.

Friends of China at the grassroots level were united in disappointment with the budget. "This has nothing for people at the bottom," said Lau Chin-shek, chairman of the Hong Kong Confederation of Trade Unions. "It is good news for the middle-class and the elite."

Supplied by NatWest Bank (excluding Indian rupee and foreign shares).

Billionaires lose battle for Christie's

Going, going, gone. Roger Cowe on knocked-down bid for auction house

ATTEMPTS by a consortium of billionaires to buy Christie's collapsed last night after the auction house rejected an improved offer.

Christie's issued a brief statement announcing "the cessation of discussions with SBC Warburg Dillon Read regarding a possible recommended offer."

It said only that the two aides could not agree on a proposal which the board could put to shareholders. "Those close to the long-running negotiations said Christie's rejected the bid purely on the question of price."

It emerged before Christie's that Warburg was putting together a consortium of what it described as "high net worth individuals". The consortium aimed to buy out the auction house, where Britain's richest man, Joe Lewis, has a 30 per cent stake. He has been seen as a critical figure in the talks.

He was expected to retain a stake in the company after the takeover, which would have liberated Christie's from the constraints of being a pub-

lic company, as well as giving it huge financial backing because it would have retained links with Warburg.

Half a dozen individuals are believed to have been involved in the consortium, which put together an offer worth about £500 million.

But negotiations have dragged on for weeks and Christie's has been unable to push up the price beyond £3 a share.

"It's business as usual from now on," Christie's finance director, Peter Blythe, told Bloomberg.

Mr Blythe will announce the company's financial results today. These are expected to show record profits after a strong year for art sales. Christie's overtook its arch-rival, Sotheby's, in 1996 and last autumn raised £206 million (£126 million) from the sale of the Ganz collection.

But in the wake of the economic crisis in Asia, the immediate future is unclear. Some observers believe the Far East turmoil will lead to the withdrawal from the art market of many rich Asians, which will bring prices down.

Uncertainty over Christie's prospects, in the wake of a record 1997, are thought to have been an important stumbling block in the drawn-out negotiations, resulting in a failure to agree a fair price for the auction house.

Woolwich offers £105 windfall

Rupert Jones

SHAREHOLDERS in the Woolwich, the building society which converted to a bank last year, are to receive an unexpected windfall — an average dividend payout of £105.

There was further good news for the company's army of small investors with the announcement of plans to seek approval to buy back up to 10 per cent of the shares. This would lift the value of the remaining shares.

Unveiling its first annual results as a listed company, the Woolwich said the special dividend it had announced "commences return of capital

to shareholders". The average Woolwich investor received 657 free shares when the company floated on the stock market in July.

At yesterday's closing price of 389½p this allocation is worth £2,500.

Investors will get a total ordinary dividend of 9.5p a share (this includes an interim dividend of 3p which has already been paid) and a special dividend of 6.5p, making a total of 16p.

For a shareholder with the average allocation this means a total payout of £105. The payment date is May 18.

Up to 1.5 million people will benefit from the giveaway, a spokeswoman said.

The Woolwich is proposing a share buy-back to reduce its excess capital and, at its annual general meeting in April, will be seeking shareholder approval to buy back and cancel up to 10 per cent of its shares.

In practice, the amount it will purchase will depend on a number of factors, including overall market conditions and the group's tax position, said Lynne Peacock, group operations director.

Pretax profits in the year to December 31 increased by 16 per cent, to £455.7 million from £392 million.

There was a net outflow of funds from deposit accounts in the second half of the year as savers moved their money after receiving their wind-

fall, but this was "within expectations". The company's share of retail deposit balances fell from 4.1 per cent in 1997 to 3.7 per cent.

On the home loans front, the Woolwich felt the force of the intense competition in the market with its share of net mortgage lending plunging from 7.5 per cent to 3.1 per cent.

"These results demonstrate that the Woolwich strategy pays dividends," said group chief executive John Stewart.

But Jeremy Batstone, at NatWest Stockbrokers, was less enthusiastic, and said shareholders should be preparing to sell their shares.

"Better value exists elsewhere in the sector," he said.

The highs and the lows

Instant access savings rates

Company	Account name	£1	£1,000
Standard Life Bank	Direct Access	3.96%	6.90%
Scottish Widows Bank	Instant Access	6.90%	6.90%
Sainsbury's	Instant Access	6.50%	6.50%
Tesco	Tesco Savings	6.50%	6.50%
Halifax	Liquid Gold	0.50%	4.00%
Barclays	Instant Savings	0.75%	3.65%

Minimum All interest rates gross. * Rate applies from £100. † Minimum £50.

tion was whether these rates could be maintained. Standard Life Bank says its rates will "consistently remain among the most competitive in the market".

The rates are tiered, starting at 6.96 per cent on £1 and rising to 7.30 per cent on £50,000-plus. They put it

ahead of Scottish Widows Bank and Nationwide with instant access accounts paying 6.90 and 6.80 per cent respectively to smaller savers. Those with £1,000 or more can get a higher rate from, among others, Safeway (7.30 per cent) and Challenham & Gloucester (7.25 per cent).

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Supplied by NatWest Bank (excluding Indian rupee and foreign shares).

TOURIST RATES — BANK SELLS

Country	Rate	Country	Rate	Country	Rate
Australia 2.36	France 9.99	Italy 2.875	Singapore 2.85		
Austria 2.38	Germany 2.8950	Malta 0.83	South Africa 7.86		
Canada 2.29	Greece 4.99	Netherlands 3.2520	Spain 2.44.12		
Cyprus 0.85	Hong Kong 12.28	New Zealand 2.74	Sweden 12.58		
Denmark 11.11	India 83.45	Norway 12.10	Switzerland 2.35		
Finland 8.88	Ireland 1.1677	Portugal 296.63	Turkey 267.890		
	Israel 5.88	Saudi Arabia 8.04	USA 1.9865		

Tueart the kingmaker as old team-mate returns to reign

Royle rules as Clark is cast out

Ian Whittell sees Manchester City react to crisis with their sixth manager in 18 months

JOE ROYLE yesterday became the sixth man to take charge of Manchester City in the last 18 months but, in one crucial regard, his appointment differed drastically from those of the previous five.

Francis Lee, who in his four-year reign has frequently been depicted as an uncompromising chairman whose power far exceeds his 13 per cent shareholding in the First Division club. But, though his signature was undoubtedly flourished over the arrivals of Alan Ball, Steve Coppell, Phil Neal and Frank Clark, the appointment of the former City centre-forward was largely orchestrated by Dennis Tueart.

Tueart, a former team-mate of Lee and Royle, was recently appointed to the City board to represent the interests of David Makin and John Wardle, owners of JD Sports, who between them have a 19 per cent stake in the club.

On Saturday, after the dusting home defeat by Bury, Makin was hugely critical of Lee and Clark on local radio. On Tuesday, around the time that Clark claimed at a press conference that he had never seen Tueart's role as that of a "hatchet man", Tueart opened negotiations with Royle.

The nature of Clark's departure and Royle's appointment certainly suggests a subtle shift in boardroom power — and the circumstances certainly upset Clark, who learned of his fate more than 12 hours after Royle accepted his job.

"I heard the news on radio this morning, which is not the ideal way to be informed you are no longer required," Clark said. "I'm disappointed about that. I would have hoped for better treatment."

The chairman was trying to get hold of me yesterday afternoon while I was on my way to watch Sunderland

Great expectations Lee's managers

Joe Royle
appointed February 18 1998
"It's a great club, it's a massive club. It's just a little bit sickly."

Frank Clark
appointed December 30 1996
"This is a glorious opportunity. There's vast potential at the club. It doesn't sound like a job from hell to me."

Phil Neal
appointed November 8 1996
"I know the size of the job. I'm not afraid and I'm not deluding myself. There's a lot of rebuilding to be done and I like to think I have the knowledge, the experience and the courage to attack that task."

Steve Coppell
appointed October 7 1996
"It is not a poisoned chalice, it is a golden opportunity that I would be a fool not to have accepted. I was a little bit worried about the fact that there had been so many managers but I am an animal who tends to root wherever he lands. All I know is that the job was right for me."

Alan Ball
appointed July 2 1995
"This was a responsibility to their families, to Manchester City, to the supporters. They know what I want. They have to be prepared to put their foot in and get hurt, and scrap for their team."



In with the new... Joe Royle makes his bow at Maine Road before last night's 3-1 defeat by Ipswich

GRAHAM CHADWICK

First Division: Manchester City 1, Ipswich Town 2

Royle suffers Dyer at the death

Derek Potter

THE kind of goals that hurt even junior team managers saw Manchester City surrender three precious points and miss the chance of clambering out of the relegation zone in Joe Royle's first match in charge.

With seven minutes left Ipswich's substitute Bobby Petta curled the ball low from 30 yards into a crowded City goalmouth.

The second minute of injury-time a cross by Petta was slid past Tommy Wright by Kieron Dyer.

It had taken only four minutes for Kit Symons to respond to the "under new management" sign at Maine Road. Symons was captain until he stood down in November after a 3-1 defeat at Stockport "to ease the pressures".

Symons's second goal of the season stemmed from Georgi Kinkladze who, pleased to welcome a player of Peter Beardsley's pedigree alongside him, hit a menacing pass to Craig

Russell on the left. The cross should have been cleared but Symons rose highest to head home.

If Richard Wright looked at fault over the goal, his save in the eighth minute was courageous as he dived at Jeff Whitley's foot.

The policy of an Ipswich team who hustled five goals in 47 minutes past Huddersfield last Saturday was clear: they were in the mood to repeat their win against City at Portman Road in October.

Seven minutes later he was on alert again. This time Julian Joshi, making a rare start, continued Villa's policy of direct attack with a 30-yard dash down the right. Denis Irwin and Butt both got in tackles, but the ball bounced kindly to set up the winger with a shot, again from the right corner of the area.

fenders often looked uneasy and were always happy to see Kinkladze embark on his long, pressure-relieving runs.

The pace of David Johnson was often a threat to City, but his shooting was unusually erratic. One opening created by Alex Mathie left Johnson with time and space but he scooped the ball over.

Premiership: Aston Villa 0, Manchester United 2

Beckham and Giggs arrive late to paper over cracks

Martin Thorpe

TWO goals in the last eight minutes saved Manchester United from another ignominious result last night and extended their Premiership lead to seven points.

A typically fierce shot from David Beckham put United ahead after 82 minutes and two minutes from time Ryan Giggs added the second to give the scoreline a misleading appearance. It was tough luck on struggling Aston Villa, who played with a spirit and purpose that de-

served a more generous result.

In the continued absence of the injured Dwight Yorke, Villa were forced to recall Savo Milosevic even though they fined him a month ago after he spat at his own supporters and then refused to play for the team again.

A compromise now reached, his change of mind did not, however, win over the home crowd, who booed his name as he was announced before the kick-off. The reaction was similar for Stan Collymore, and the fact

that Villa fielded a strike force comprising a player who has abused his own fans and one who has abused his own talent did not augur well.

But in a first half of few chances Collymore's direct runs captured most attention. The local lad made bad shooting wide from 20 yards in 15 minutes and then, after a 30-yard charge, unleashing a shot straight at Peter Schmeichel.

United's best chance was a Gary Pallister header aimed directly at Bosnich. These efforts represented a meagre return but served to illustrate how much both teams are currently under the weather.

Prior to last night, United had taken only four points from the last 15 while Villa had mustered only one win in their previous five league games. Last night Alex Ferguson welcomed back Andy Cole, David Beckham, Gary Neville and Nicky Butt, all missing from Saturday's FA Cup starting line-up against Bolton.

However for much of the first half United were again at their disjointed worst. There was no inspiration or rhythm going forward as their renowned passing game once again misfired.

If the Premiership leaders

had forgotten the penalty for such tardiness, Ian Taylor, back to back suspension, gave them a reminder within three minutes of the restart. His pilder of a shot from the right corner of the area forced a stunned Schmeichel into a dramatic flying save.

Seven minutes later he was on alert again. This time Julian Joshi, making a rare start, continued Villa's policy of direct attack with a 30-yard dash down the right. Denis Irwin and Butt both got in tackles, but the ball bounced kindly to set up the winger with a shot, again from the right corner of the area.

which flew wastefully over.

Twice more Villa went close. On 20 minutes Milosevic's cross from the left ended with a six-yard shot from Collymore which sailed inches over and shortly afterwards the Yugoslav once more provided a lovely curling ball for Taylor, whose close-range diving header delivered sufficient power to worry Schmeichel.

Injuries dictated that Dion Dublin was employed as an emergency centre half by Coventry. Viorel Moldovan, scorer of the goal that booked the Midlands an FA Cup quarter-final berth, came in for his first league start.

Fifa reckons the British game is in decline

ENGLAND have slipped to fifth in the world. Northern Ireland have fallen to 99th, below Tanzania and Syria; and Wales have dropped to 107th, behind such untraditional world powers as Vietnam and Singapore.

The latest Fifa rankings highlight an unhappy trend in British football. Only Scotland have maintained their place — 37th — since the table was last published at the turn of the year.

England's 2-0 defeat at home to Chile drops them one place in the rankings, to fifth below Mexico. Chile rise from 16th to seventh. Italy have fallen from ninth to 14th.

FIFA RANKINGS (position at end of 1997 in brackets): 1. Brazil (23), 2. Germany (51), 3. Czech Republic (64), 4. Mexico (67), 5. England (89), 6. France (95), 7. Chile (98), 8. Yugoslavia (99), 9. Japan (101), 10. Norway (102), 11. South Korea (103), 12. Republic of Ireland (104), 13. Northern Ireland (107), 14. Wales (107).

Results

Football

COCA-COLA CUP

Semi-finals, second leg

Manchester City 1, Ipswich Town 2

Manchester City 1, Ipswich Town 2

Manchester City 1, Ipswich Town 2

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Coca-Cola Cup semi-final, second leg
Middlesbrough 2
Liverpool 0 (agg: 3-2)

Branca seals Boro return

Michael Walker

ON A night more dramatic and raucous than any in their 24-year tenure at the Riverside Stadium, the Middlesbrough reached the Coca-Cola Cup final last night for a second consecutive season.

Overcoming the two-goal deficit from Anfield, both goals within the first five minutes, from Paul Merson and their latest foreign import Marco Branca, Boro have now set up a repeat of last season's FA Cup final and have themselves a third Wembley date in 12 months.

Bryan Robson has made no secret of the fact that Middlesbrough's priority is an immediate return to the Premiership. Accordingly the Boro manager fielded weakened sides against Arsenal in the FA Cup and Bolton in an early round of this competition but, having achieved such a promising result at Anfield, he sprang a major surprise last night.

On from the start was Boro's latest signing Branca, bought for £1 million from Internazionale on Monday. The shock was that Robson had insisted the Italian would play no part in this game but instead the 33-year-old found himself partnering Mikkel Beck under the lights.

The second came less than two minutes after the kick-off. That was the moment Beck fell under a poorly timed challenge from Jamie Carragher after Craig Egan had easily robbed Patrick Berger and fed the Danish striker.

It was an astonishing opening. Boro were now level on aggregate, and within minutes they had another. Merson was the creator this

time, intercepting Robbie Fowler's pass before lighting a beautiful 40-yard through ball over a Liverpool defence as square as William Hague. Running on to it was Branca and with only his second touch in a Middlesbrough shirt, he put the ball through David James's legs.

The Riverside's reaction was hysterical though at the other end Fowler, looking livelier than of late, twice struck the palms of Mark Schwarzer with shots the Australian could not hold.

Liverpoolian optimists might have taken this as a signal that the visitors had regained some composure but this was only partially true — Liverpool was still extremely fragile at the back and susceptible to the surges of Merson and the industrious Hignett.

Roy Evans will have viewed the half-time interval as an opportunity to address his players' shell-shock, and he replaced Dominic Matteo with Oyvind Leonhardsen. This may have been tactical — Matteo was hardly towering but the withdrawal of a defender seemed premature and Liverpool's problem remained their unpredictable fluidity.

On another day that would have been a strength but Steve McNamara, despite not being man-marked, failed to get the Reds moving coherently and they were reliant on old dashes of zip and control from Michael Owen.

With 25 minutes left Karl-Heinz Riedle came on for Berger but the German's influence was minimal and as the game, and Paul Ince in particular, boiled over Riedle was rightly booked for rugby tackling Alex Morrison on a Middlesbrough breakaway.

It was an astonishing opening. Boro were now level on aggregate, and within minutes they had another. Merson was the creator this

Premiership

Southampton 1, Coventry City 2

Huckerby pace unhinges Saints

Trevor Haylett

COVENTRY'S soaring confidence proved too much for Southampton at The Dell, a ground where the visitors had tasted success only once before in the previous 16 seasons. Early goals from Darren Huckerby and Noel Whelan delivered a fifth successive victory for the Sky Blues.

Southampton, who had become familiar with the winning feeling at home, were a great disappointment. Matt Le Tissier scored a late penalty and David King struck the woodwork but they could never match the threat posed at the other end by the dynamic Huckerby.

By this stage of the season both these teams are normally in the grip of another relegation panic but under two demanding managers their stock has seldom been so high in recent times. Evidence of their resurgence has been seen in surprise wins over Liverpool and Manchester United.

Injuries dictated that Dion Dublin was employed as an emergency centre half by Coventry. Viorel Moldovan, scorer of the goal that booked the Midlands an FA Cup quarter-final berth, came in for his first league start.

Southampton were themselves restricted by injuries and suspension, but could still find a place for Le Tissier. It was symptomatic of their shortcomings and palpable lack of any cohesion that he was stripped and off the bench after 20 minutes. By that stage, however, Saints were one goal down.

Their first attempt to give Le Tissier a touch founded, as had so much of their early work, in a misplaced pass outside the Coventry penalty area. Having committed men forward it left their opponents with room to exploit and a well-timed used it. Whelan picked out Huckerby who curled an exquisite shot which from 22 yards sailed beyond Paul Jones and just under the bar.

Coventry's first goal had been equally well taken. Whelan, hovering by the angle of the six-yard box, pulled down a high ball from David Burrows exposing Lee Todd's lack of inches and then Claus Lundekvam's clumsy challenge before placing his shot inside the near post.

Southampton (4-4-2): Jones; Odo, Monty, Lundevam, Todd; Speeding, 52min; Oakley, Palmer, Beckford, Hughes, 70, Williams (Le Tissier, 28); Hirst, Owen.

Coventry City (4-4-2): Hedman; Nilsson, Dublin, Brown, Burrows; Whelan, Strachan, 69, 50min; Solovod, Hall, Huckerby, Moldovan.

Referee: P. Atcock (Redhill).

Swansea farewell to Vetch Field after unveiling £75m stadium

THREE months after Swansea City were unable to fulfil a fixture at the Vetch Field when the local council issued a prohibition order, the club's parent company yesterday unveiled plans for a new £75 million stadium.

The Silver Shield Group, which bought an 80 per cent stake in Swansea last August, plans to build the 25,000 all-seater stadium on a 75-acre site one mile west of the city centre. The group also disclosed that it is in talks with rugby league authorities about a Super League franchise to start in March 1999.

Alan Cork, who became Swansea's manager after Mick Adams brief tenure of office, must wish he had such resources to lavish on his team. "We've got 25 professionals on the books and I've got to unload some to get the wage bill down," he said last month.

Partick Thistle, who are in deep financial trouble, could be saved by their own

supporters after shareholders gave the go-ahead for a new share issue.

The club's chairman Brown McMaster said: "The fans can now own the club. I have already received six cheques worth £1,000 each from supporters. It's been a quite remarkable turn-around and I am excited by the prospect."

Partick face a crucial creditors' meeting within the next few weeks but two thirds of them have already accepted 40p in the pound in settlement.

"If all the creditors agree, this will mean that the money we bring in from a share issue will be working capital," McMaster added.

The former Wimbledon and Wales midfielder Glyn Hodges has joined Nottingham Forest on a free transfer from Hull City. The Fulham defender Danny Gailip is expected to complete his £250,000 move to Brentford today.

Battlin

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Cricket

Mike Selvey in Port of Spain says it is every man for himself as the England tourists fight for places before the fourth Test in Guyana

Battling Butcher stakes a claim

THE last two weeks have seen the most pressurised cricket imaginable. Every session, every over, every ball of the two Test, produced tension on a level hitherto unsurpassed. Each day was a draining, tiring, shattering experience. And that was just watching. Goodness knows what it was like for the players.

In the aftermath of the first of the back-to-back Tests, after England had tossed away a 22nd century opportunity to take a 1-0 series lead, Mike Atherton likened the feeling to that of the losing crew in the Boat Race. We may have finished only a canvas behind, he mused, but the jubilation of the winning crew overcomes the desperate

'The corks were still popping after a match Atherton said was his most tense ever'

fatigue, and the disappointment of the losers is magnified tenfold.

Then he had the appearance of, and sounded like, a zombie. He promised that England would come back hard. Yeah, yeah, we said.

But they did: what a difference a week and a win make. On Tuesday afternoon, while the champagne corks were still popping in the dressing-room, after a match which the captain described as the most tense he had experienced — the second Test was the previous most tense — he was exhaustedly bushy-tailed.

Yet again Atherton has looked down the barrel and prevailed. A year ago the credibility of his side, and his tenure as captain, depended on winning a Test against New Zealand in Christchurch. A century to lead England home. At the end of last summer it was only a consolation victory against Australia — or rather the manner of the win — that compelled him to have one more crack as captain against a West Indies side perceived by many, although

not by him, to be in freefall. On this third Test depended so much. Lose again and the series was blown because no one overturns a 2-0 deficit against West Indies. Lose, too, and England's reputation as a team who cannot hack it when it matters would be perpetuated. His future as captain would also, again, have been in doubt.

England dug deep and won. "Is this a watershed in your captaincy?" Atherton was asked afterwards. "I'm a bit long in the tooth now for watershed," he responded.

But it is a watershed for the team because a year ago they would not have been able to sustain a challenge against such an intimidating proposition as Courtney Walsh and Curtly Ambrose on a seek-and-destroy mission.

Atherton paid fulsome and justified tribute to Angus Fraser and Dean Headley who kept England in the game with disciplined and, above all, lion-hearted bowling.

And the captain knows the priceless value of his century partnership with Alec Stewart, not only in terms of runs but also as a pathfinder for the rest of the batsmen. Look, that 120 stand said, it can be done; now you do it.

In the end it was Mark Butcher who carried it off. It may seem faintly ridiculous to be praising a batsman who scored only 24 runs, but consider the pressure. The Surrey opener, a last-minute replacement in the aborted Test at Sabina Park, had been sacrificed at No. 3 on the altar of expedience and was out first ball, not having picked up a bat in anger since September 20. When he came into the third Test, again at the last minute, the situation had changed only by that solitary ball. Yet the price of failure on Tuesday was vast.

He would have been forgiven for cracking, but he did not. At lunchtime on the final day, having hit only one boundary — on the previous evening — in almost two hours, Butcher, an attacking batsman by inclination, sat down in the dressing-room and wondered aloud when he was going to get a bad ball.

Ambrose and Walsh were superb and, until Headley hit Walsh for twice in the penultimate over, immediately after



Hitting the high notes... Mark Butcher, Angus Fraser and Alec Stewart enjoy a spot of rest and relaxation in Port of Spain yesterday

lunch, the runs accrued were heister-sketter two and singles. It was an innings of determination, skill and courage.

Of course it has upset things. Butcher was not meant to be part of the scheme of things, behind John Crawley, Adam Hobbie and Mark Ramprakash in the pecking order. So the dilemma now is to decide whether the original strategy, conceived in the autumn and

considered sound a week ago, still holds. Or does a winning team stay together?

Butcher cannot be omitted from the next Test but the win should not camouflage the fact that the side can and must be improved, with particular emphasis on the No. 3 position and a third seamer. Crawley does not cut the mustard at No. 3, appearing uncomfortable mechanically and unsure. So in Georgetown

ing Nasser Hussain up to No. 3 — the best qualified in the squad, despite his antipathy to the notion of going in first wicket down — and moving Graham Thorpe, perfectly amenable to the idea, to No. 4. Positions No. 5 and No. 6 can then be filled by Butcher and one of the others, with the opportunity for them to stake some sort of claim in the three-day game against Guyana which begins on Saturday.

Of the seamers it is Andy Caddick once more who is at risk. It speaks volumes that a fellow who took five wickets in the first innings of the third Test and who has done so on four previous occasions for England should still be fighting for his place, but that is the paradox which points to an underlying problem. Insecurity, naivety, self-delusion or whatever, his self-assessment consistently exceeds his performance: he is simply

proving too brittle under pressure and the patience of the executive is running out.

Caddick, too, will get the chance to restate his case in Georgetown but he will be up against Ashley Cowan and Chris Silverwood who have been watching and are anxious to push claims of their own. There may be a strong team ethic in the England camp but this will be bare-knuckled survival of the fittest. It is the only way.

Sri Lanka A v England A: first one-day international

Knight's men cut to pieces

David Hopps in Moratuwa

THE Test series might have been safely gathered in but England A received a salutary reminder yesterday that, when it comes to one-day cricket, the Sri Lankans are a different proposition.

Even Sri Lanka's most celebrated supporter, Percy Abeysekera, was on hand to work the crowd, as he paraded the national flag around the boundary and screamed at everybody in sight to "hurry up". When it comes to walking behind the bowler's arm, which he does often for publicity purposes, Abeysekera should heed his own advice.

For Sri Lanka, the exhortations seemed to have the required effect. They fairly dashed to 326 for six in 50

overs, a colossal target even in such a benign pitch and unforgiving outfield. England lost early wickets in reply and were beaten by 142 runs, dismissed with nearly 15 overs left.

With seven one-day internationals, this Sri Lankan team promised a greater threat than the three younger, experimental sides that had contested the four-day series. Nick Knight's decision to bowl offered the home side an immediate chance to regain the initiative.

A century stand for the first wicket in 18 overs set an adventurous tone that was never lost. Russell Arnold struck 87 from 74 balls, and the final onslaught from Upul Chandana, who swung an unbeaten 84 from 13 deliveries, including three

sixes, ensured that 55 came from the last five overs. Three wickets for Ashley Giles's left-arm spin brought occasional solace.

Hampered by Percy's progress, or lack of it, England were penalised an over for their slow over rate. They lost Knight to the first legitimate ball of their innings, carving to backward point. Then Ben Hollis came to short midwicket and Darren Maddy fell to a leaping catch at square-leg by Mahela Jayawardene.

Andy Flintoff hit the leg-side boundaries in a powerful 61 but England's fleeting hopes of recovery virtually left with him as he launched Chandana's leg-spin to long-on. Fortunately England's death throes were not unduly prolonged. They try again in Matara tomorrow and on Saturday.

Scoreboard

SRI LANKA A	
A Gunawardene c O'Connell	86
A Gunawardene c Nash b O'Connell	43
P A Jayawardene c O'Connell	37
R M Jayawardene c O'Connell	32
N Wickramaratne c Brown b O'Connell	12
H D Jayawardene c O'Connell	11
U D Jayawardene not out	9
M Siriwardene not out	8
Total (for 50 overs)	326
England A	
A Flintoff c Wickramaratne	10
A Flintoff c Wickramaratne	10
A Flintoff c Wickramaratne	10
A Flintoff c Wickramaratne	10
A Flintoff c Wickramaratne	10
A Flintoff c Wickramaratne	10
A Flintoff c Wickramaratne	10
A Flintoff c Wickramaratne	10
A Flintoff c Wickramaratne	10
A Flintoff c Wickramaratne	10
Total (for 50 overs)	199

South Africa v Pakistan: first Test, final day

Mercy killing ends farce

Paul Weaver in Johannesburg

ONE of the most horrid Test matches ever played was mercy-killed by the umpires at 2.30pm yesterday, apparently because of bad light but more likely through lack of enthusiasm.

No one was overly concerned why play had ended with nearly half of a cold, grey final day remaining; no one asked, just in case they started playing again.

So the first Test between South Africa and Pakistan at the Wanderers, the start of a short but attractive-looking series between the second and third finest sides in the world, ended as a financial and public relations disaster.

The Gauteng Cricket Board lost about £300,000 because play started a day late — for

reasons which may never be made clear — and because 241 overs were lost to rain, bad light, the farce of the floodlights and the lethargic, meaningless tempo.

When the end came, South Africa were 44 without loss in their second innings, a lead of 79 runs. When play had failed to start on time the Tannoy announced: "Never mind. At 11.15 we have a very exciting documentary about AIDS." That summed it all up neatly.

The match may have died yesterday but its bleak backcloth is still there. Last night the news editor of the local newspaper received a number of phone calls concerning the nocturnal movements of the Pakistani players.

This is, of course, where the match got off to such an awful start, never to recover. Two players, Saqlain Mushtaq and Mohammad Akram, claimed

Tennis

Henman falls at the first again

Stephen Bierley

LESS than five weeks ago Tim Henman was leading on his back and was leading an injured Karol Kucera of Slovakia 4-0 in the first set of the Sydney Open final. He somehow contrived to lose that match and has not won since. Now everybody wants to clamour on his back.

Yesterday, for the fourth successive tournament including the Australian Open, Henman lost in the first round, going down 7-5, 6-2 to Sweden's Magnus Norman in the European Community Championship in Antwerp. Last year Henman was the beaten finalist, losing to Marc Rosset.

By contrast Greg Rusedski, the British No. 1, reached the second round with a 7-6, 3-6, 6-3 win over Morocco's Hicham Arazi, one of the most naturally gifted players on the circuit. "Hicham's a dangerous and very talented player," Rusedski said, "but I served well when it counted and played the big points well in the third set." He now meets the world No. 38 Guillermo Rivas in the second round today.

Henman's defeat, which will see him drop out of the top 20 next week, was horribly predictable. Norman, ranked No. 24, is just the sort of solid, no-nonsense player who can avoid when confidence is shredded.

"I don't have any points to defend for three months," Henman said afterwards. "I'm not the first player to struggle with confidence and I won't be the last. There is nothing you can do about it. If I can keep working at my game I know I'll come out the other side and the wins will come."

Henman lost in the first round of the Australian Open to Jerome Golmard and then went out to Rainer Schuttler in the French Open this month and against Boris Becker in Dubai last week.

"I couldn't be playing any worse than the way I played in Melbourne and possibly in Split. But the work that I've done is paying off and will pay off. I played better against Becker and played better today. I definitely feel my game is moving in the right direction," said Henman, who battled back to 5-5 from 5-2 down in the first set but then let the match slip away.

"On a slippery surface like this, you have to play very, very well to be aggressive because the ball keeps coming back, but if I do resort to being a defensive player that's going to get me nowhere," he added.

"On a slippery surface like this, you have to play very, very well to be aggressive because the ball keeps coming back, but if I do resort to being a defensive player that's going to get me nowhere," he added.

The second went with serve until Norman seized the advantage with a break for 4-2 when Henman returned a volley out. The Swede, who beat Pete Sampras in last year's third round of the French Open, completed the win in 80 minutes.

Steffi Graf, playing her first singles match since last year's French Open, defeated her fellow German Andrei Glass 6-4, 6-2 in the second round of the Faber Grand Prix in Hanover yesterday.

One week after losing to South Africa's Amanda Coetzer at Roland Garros last year the former German Andrei Glass 6-4, 6-2 in the second round of the Faber Grand Prix in Hanover yesterday.

Winter Olympic Games

Czechs sweep forward as big shots let America down

Pete Nichols in Nagano sees the dream end

THE United States ice hockey team, linchpins of the "Dream Tournament", were rudely dumped out at the quarter-final stage, 4-1 by the unfancied Czech Republic. The shot-point favoured the Americans but the Czech goaltender Dominik Hasek tossed an early claim to be the player of the tournament.

That the US coach did not look like a man in shock at the post-match press conference was probably down to the fact that he could see this result coming. His team had no record at all in the tournament — losing to Sweden and Canada — and even Americans, who can get excited about almost anything, could not cheer about a single victory over Kazakhstan.

"We feel like we let a lot of people down, but ourselves more than anyone," said Roo Wilson.

It was not the only shock. Finland overcame the Olympic champions Sweden 2-1, and the semi-final draw now reads Canada against the Czechs, Finland against Russia. For the CBS television network, whose ratings for these Games are already dis-

mal, the Dream Tournament has become a nightmare. Nobody in downtown Minneapolis is going to put himself out to watch any other country play ice hockey.

The Czechs, with 12 NHL players in their 23-strong squad, claim ice hockey as their major winter sport. "Nobody will work today, they will just drink," said the forward Martin Straka, whose friends watched the game in a Filles cinema at six in the morning.

Calculated risks always depend on the calculations being done properly and it now looks as if the negotiations by the NHL commissioner Gary Bettman, to suspend the league for a fortnight so that the top players could appear in the Olympics, have backfired.

Everybody would agree that the NHL is the world's best league and it has the world's best players. What we have learned, too, is that they are not Americans. In the CBS offices the effect will be that the audiences will be seen to get smaller and smaller until the final on Sunday.



Tender greeting... from Reichel to Hasek

It could be that a showdown between Tara Lipinski and Michelle Kwan on the rink tomorrow will mitigate their losses. At the halfway stage of the women's figure skating competition the two Americans lead, with the 17-year-old Kwan in top spot.

The chance of a clean sweep disappeared when Nicole Bobek failed to land her first jump. Were Bjorn Dahlia a summer Olympian he would be the stuff of legend in more than his own country. He recorded his seventh Winter Olympic gold and 11th medal overall — both all-time records — when Norway inched home in the cross-country relay.

Motor Racing

Belgian race is safe for now as tobacco ban is lifted

THE future of the Belgian Grand Prix, threatened by restrictions on tobacco sponsorship, was secured yesterday after a decree was put before the Walloon regional parliament permitting unrestricted sponsorship of world-level sporting and cultural events, writes Alan Henry.

The race, at Spa-Francorchamps on August 30, had been subject to a tobacco sponsorship ban from 1999 but the sport's governing body (FIA) threatened that this year's race would not take place unless the 1999 ban was immediately lifted.

The race was included in the calendar as provisional with the FIA hinting that cancellation would fuel pressure to move more grands prix out of Europe to areas with fewer curbs on tobacco advertising. "The decree has the same effect as a national law," said a Walloon parliament spokesman. But if it is found to conflict directly with federal government legislation, there may still be problems for the race.

Sport in brief

Badminton

Ellie Miles, 21, who left home with a Lottery grant five months ago to become a full-time player, yesterday made a winning debut for England in the women's doubles as they beat Poland 5-0 in the Uber Cup, writes Richard Jago in Sandefjord. In the Thomas Cup the men beat Switzerland 5-0 and, if both teams win again today — the men play Germany, the women Scotland — they will need one win from two ties to reach the finals.

Sailing

Britain has a realistic chance of retaining the Gosling/ISA Team Racing World Championship in Miami, but not with their No. 1 choice, writes Bob Fisher. Britain II, captained by Roger Morris, emerged as winners when the two British yachts met in the quarter-finals. That was the same outcome when the two United States teams met and Britain II look likely to face United States II in the final.

Snooker

Paul Hunter, the 19-year-old Yorkshireman who won the Regal Welsh Open last month, reached the last 16 of the Scottish Open in Aberdeen with an emphatic 5-0 win over John Parrott, a former world champion, writes Clive Everton. Jimmy White, who was taken the full nine frames by Graeme

Doti in the first round, endured another 5-4 finish against another Scot, Drew Hurrey, before progressing.

Rallying

Ari Vatanen, the 1993 world champion, has received a last-minute call from Ford for the Safari Rally in Kenya after the Belgian driver Bruno Thiry fractured five ribs in practice, writes David Williams.

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The Guardian INTERACTIVE

16

Evans a huge loss to Wales, page 13

City red carpet for Royle, page 14

Big freeze chills dream team, page 15

United go hunting for Villa, page 14

SportsGuardian

Dream start for new manager

Coca-Cola Cup

semi-final, second leg

Chelsea 3, Arsenal 1 (agg: 4-3)

Vialli drive delivers rebirth of the Blues

David Lacey

GIANLUCA VIALLI, leading by energetic example, took Chelsea into their third League Cup final last night in his first game as player-manager after the sudden departure of Ruud Gullit.

Arsenal, weakened by injuries and then the sending-off of Patrick Vieira, saw their 2-1 lead from the opening leg annulled by an early goal from Mark Hughes before two more in three minutes, from Roberto Di Matteo and Dan Petrescu, early in the second half, apparently set up Chelsea for an easy victory.

Then a penalty from Dennis Bergkamp, awarded for hands against Duberry, assured Chelsea of a nervous nine minutes at the end.

Much had changed in the three weeks since the first leg, though not the score. Chelsea had replaced a hirsute Dutch manager with an Italian skin-head but Arsenal still led 2-1 and whether their opponents were managed by Gullit, Vialli or Uncle Tom Cobbleigh they still had to break down one of the country's most intransigent defences.

On Vialli's appointment he had promised to remain "one of the lads". He was as good as his word, including himself in what was unarguably Chelsea's strongest side.

Certainly with Vialli and Hughes up front, flanked by Gianfranco Zola and supported from midfield by Dennis Wise and Di Matteo, Chelsea looked equipped to make a better fist of things this time against an Arsenal team lacking David Seaman in goal, Steve Bould and Martin Keown in defence, and Ian Wright in attack.

The uncompromising mood owed much to the recent and rumbustious Premiership encounter at Highbury, which Arsenal had won 2-0. Within three minutes Hughes had fouled Tony Adams, Gilles Grimandi and Vieira, adding a booking to his MBE.

Not that Hughes was an anti-hero for long. Unpromising causes, after all, are his bread and butter, and by the ninth minute he had given Chelsea the lead by bringing the aggregate scores level.

The goal was simply constructed and emphatically executed. Vialli's assured control enabled him to turn with the ball amid a crowd of defenders and find Di Matteo. He slipped it to Hughes and

Alex Manninger was well beaten by a firmly-driven shot into the left-hand corner.

A 1-0 win would send Chelsea through on their away goal, but only after extra time. They needed to increase their lead and as Parlour, Vieira and Emmanuel Petit struggled to contain the brisk, accurate passing of Petrescu, Wise and Di Matteo Arsenal's thoughts continued to be with defeat.

Thus Arsenal's in-form Dutch pair, Bergkamp and Marc Overmars, had to wait a long time for opportunities to pressure Chelsea's defence. One of the problems was that with Lee Dixon and Nigel Winterburn denied the chance to advance on the flanks, the Arsenal attack could not find consistent width.

The loss of Parlour, who like Bergkamp had been a doubtful starter, on the stroke of half-time did not improve Arsenal's chances of saving the tie. Nevertheless his replacement, David Platt, was hardly inexperienced in salvage exercises.

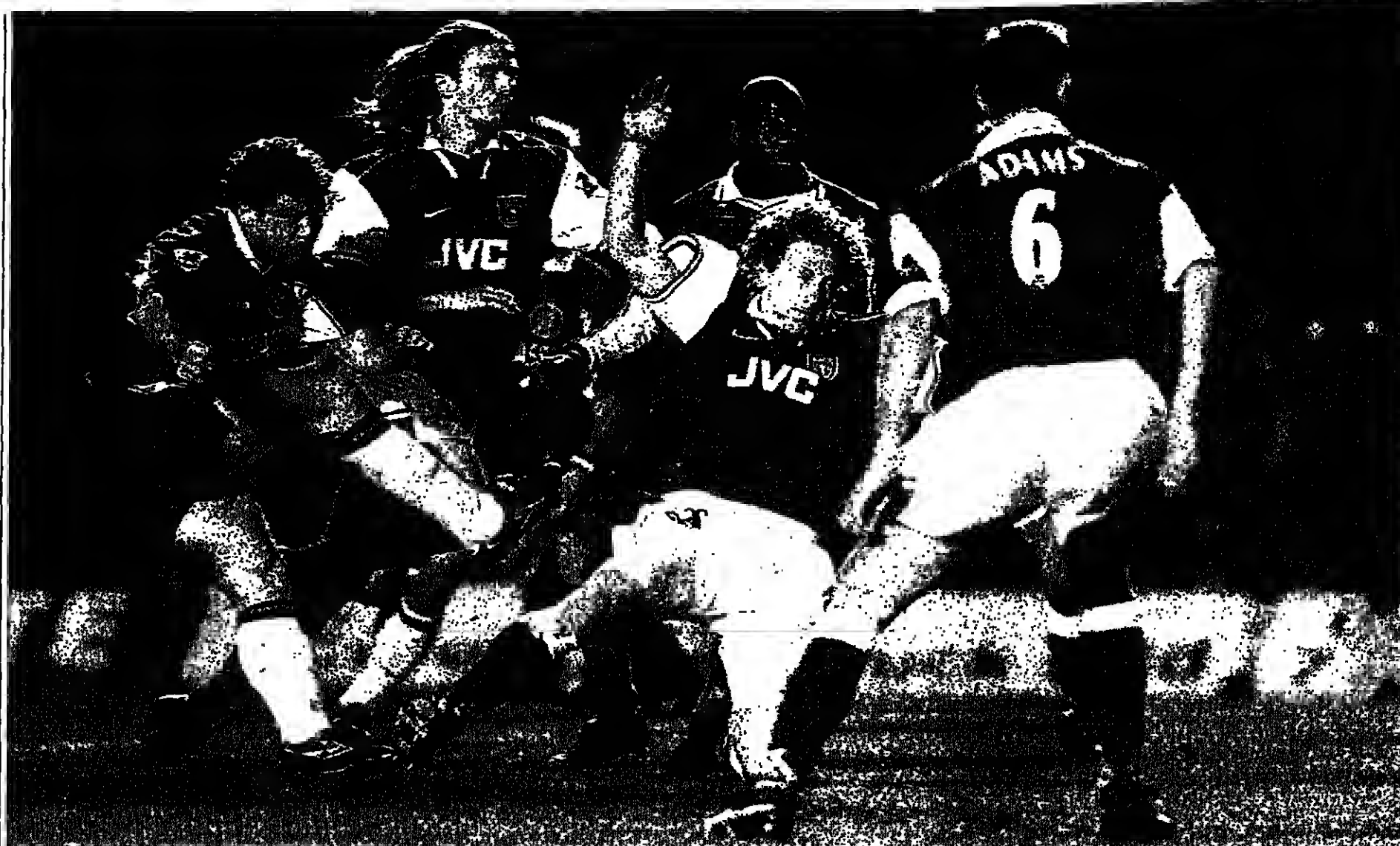
Arsenal needed to provide regular diversions in attack if the Chelsea defenders, and in particular the excellent Michael Duberry, were to be seriously disturbed. Chelsea, however, did all the disturbing after half-time. Within seven minutes Arsenal had lost a player and, to all intents and purposes, the semi-final.

In the 47th minute Vieira, already booked for a foul on Vialli, was sent off after another, this time on Le Saun. It was Vieira's second dismissal in a month. He had been sent off at Coventry in January.

Arsenal scarcely had time to reorganise than the match passed beyond their reach. After 50 minutes Di Matteo strode through the middle to crack a marvellous shot into the top right-hand corner of the net from the edge of the penalty area, and in 53rd Zola's corner found his way to Petrescu, who directed the ball low into the left-hand corner with the outside of his right foot.

That was more or less that. Reduced to 10 men Arsenal were unlikely to overturn Chelsea's 4-2 lead. They pressed forward but this merely left more space in their own half for Vialli, Hughes and Zola to exploit.

Chelsea (4-4-2): Go Goss; Clarke, Duberry, Lapwood, Le Saun; Petrescu, Wise, Di Matteo, Zola; Hughes, Vialli. Arsenal (4-4-2): Manninger; Quinn, Bedford, Adams, Parlour; Vieira, Petit, Overmars; Bergkamp, Anelka. Referee: G. Poll (Tring).



Cracking start... Mark Hughes shoots through a mass of Arsenal players to open Vialli's reign as Chelsea manager with a goal after 10 minutes last night. PHOTOGRAPH: BEN RADFORD

Bates provides surreal Village voice

History is rewritten to leave Vialli in the ejector seat, reports Paul Hayward

THE Ruud Gullit saga has been rewritten so many times in the past week that the truth may never be recovered from the shredders and the svengalis. A serious business, this, so it was nice of Ken Bates to lighten the mood last night with a truly surreal account of how Gullit got the bullet.

"Let us first deal with the so-called clash of egos," wrote Bates in the match programme. "There wasn't one, as simple as that." So now you know. Chairman Bates thundered on: "In fact [Gullit's] parting words were 'please give my love to Suzanne; we must stay friends, this world is a very small one.'"

Regular acquaintance with football folk leads one inexorably to the conclusion that even Kafka would have fled the game screaming. "I was delighted for all his personal publicity because it promoted Chelsea and made us one of the most high-profile clubs in the world," claimed Bates. "I certainly did not resent it — he was

promoting both the Club and [Chelsea] Village."

Let us forget for a moment that American businessmen are going to be mightily fed up with their travel agents when they book into Stamford Bridge's luxury hotel only to discover that the bar is called The Shed. Here comes a real contradiction. After extolling Gullit's PR pulling power Bates says: "The commitment being offered was being prejudiced by Ruud's ever-increasing personal activities."

Unlike Bates, Chelsea's familiar terrace mixture of glitterati and geese were caught between lamenting Gullit's departure and welcoming Vialli to the ejector seat of football management. Outside they were selling T-shirts bearing the message: "Cheer up Luca. You can play every week now."

As Chelsea have just announced an increase in season ticket prices of around 40 per cent the fans will doubtless be expecting a four-tenths improvement in Chelsea's performances. On last night's limited evidence there will be no weakening in the team's resolve to consolidate last year's FA Cup victory.

The management passed seamlessly to an aristocratic Italian whose only obvious link with the old

Chelsea bulldog brigade is his shaven head. Now the manager's job passes from Hoddie to Gullit to Vialli. Time was when it travelled between the likes of Bobby Campbell and John Neal.

Never has the Coca-Cola Cup seemed such an effortlessly important competition. And how many managers would love to start one

of the best jobs in England with seven days to prepare the team, Wembley just 90 minutes away, and the chaos in the team talking about them as some sort of deity.

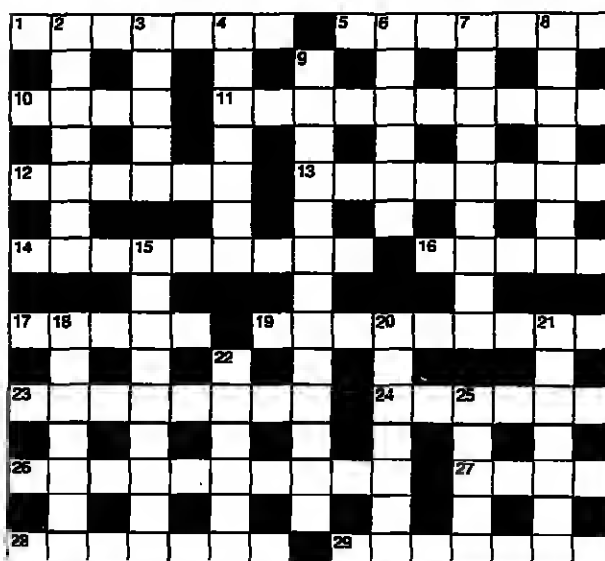
Gullit went for the lucre and ended up losing his job to a Luca. As Chelsea surged into a 3-0 lead after half-time, it was already possible to feel the ties from

the Gullit era loosening.

Down on the touchline, Graham Rix, whom I suspect will emerge as a key player in Gullit's downfall, was as studiously observant as ever. Vialli led the line but it was Rix who was issuing those indecipherable finger signals that once sent out tactical suggestions to Mickey Droy.

Such is the nature of Bates's shangri-la that the casual visitor doesn't know whether to book into the unfinished hotel, queue for the night-club or organise a business conference. But Vialli is playing again in his own ultra-glamorous team, and Rix is shouting instructions from a dug-out that once sent out tactical suggestions to Mickey Droy.

Guardian Crossword No 21,202



Across

- 1 Ghost of a chance taken on 3 in Rome... (7)
5 ... in regard to its inversion (7)
10 Brito never shall be European (4)
11,24 Isn't setter able to put in blackbird with gun from 15 out to keep the red flag flying? (10,6)
12 See 16
13,19 Indignant at dog keeping time out there with what it wears (3,5,3,5)
14 Romanesque structure of church with toe grip (3-6)

- 16,12 Provided in feet, turn to port (East) past the Empire State building (5,6)
17,27 Small selection for Clare to tilt against? (5,4)
19 See 13
23 Utterer of wrong words, expert style, in a politician (8)
24 See 11
26 Supporter gets a little way, and I would have an original idea (10)
27 See 17
28 State of Hebrew day in RAF body (7)

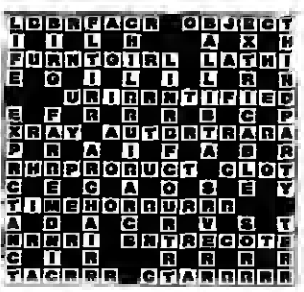
Down

- 2 Friend to make declaration at meeting (7)
3 Witching to leave Motown (5)
4 Radio telegraphy includes warning light for ballet (7)
6 Create problem game (6)
7 It could be developed at top line (5)
8 Parson raised in religion goes underground (7)
9 Better see rich chap I rob's been treated (13)
15 Semiconductor's number in flower (9)
18 According to a man on a carrier it's a little warmer (4,3)
20 A bit of decadence about the member for Cotswold rather than London (7)
21 Girl outside home seeking releases (7)
22 Second start to restoring of friendship in Wales (6)
25 Duke seen twice in ferry (5)

Solution tomorrow



Set by Araucaria



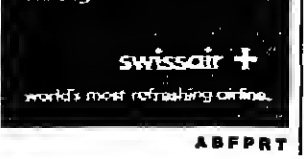
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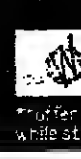
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MEGASTORES

BBC told to

Inside

155 من 14 حويل